

**PREDICTORS OF
GANG INVOLVEMENT:**

*An exploratory study into the predictors and
influences of gang involvement for individual Patch (long term) and
Associate (short term) gang members*

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ABSTRACT

The present study examines the childhood influences and risk factors involved in later gang association. A questionnaire was compiled using Costa and McCrae's (1985) NEO Personality Inventory, Moos and Moos' (1986) Family Environment Scale, Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale, and Collins and Read's (1990) Adult Attachment Scale. Ad Hoc questions concerning the gang members schooling, demographic information and experiences with the gang, were also included.

Data was collected from 9 Patch, and 5 Associate gang members from around the Canterbury area. The analysis indicated that risk factors of gang involvement for long term Patch members were poor academic performance, financial needs, lack of secure attachments with family members and an inability to express their emotions. Patch members families were found to be very controlling and high in conflict. Risk factors for short term Associate gang members were their need to connect socially to people and form much needed attachments. Associate members often got into trouble at school and showed indications of conduct and behavioural problems.

The most robust motivation for both Patch and Associate gang members to join a gang was to fulfill emotional and attachment needs not previously met. The attachments that gang members had with others was the most influencing factor in their emotional development and the development of their personality and their strength of attachment to the gang. The gangs seemed to provide its members with the support, esteem and financial needs that were lacking in their upbringings. Implications for future research and intervention programs were also discussed in relation to possible treatment differences between Patch and Associate gang members.

INTRODUCTION

Gangs have existed throughout the world for centuries. Though American gangs receive the most attention on an international level (possibly due to Hollywood's fascination with them), they are not an American phenomenon (Klein, 1995). Gangs have been found to exist on every continent. For example, countries like Australia, Brazil, China, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Japan, Russia, South Africa, and, of course, New Zealand, have all reported gang activity, and gang-related crime (Spergel, 1995). Due to the attention that American gangs receive, much is known about them. Almost nothing, however, is known about New Zealand gangs, and, more importantly, the individuals who chose to become gang members, (Klein, 1995).

The lack of knowledge about New Zealand gangs creates a problem in that generalizations from foreign literature can not easily be made. We cannot presume that gangs in New Zealand share all the qualities of overseas gangs. For foreign tested strategies and interventions (which usually target gangs, rather than individuals) to work on New Zealand gangs, there must be general qualities and issues that relate to all gangs. To implement an intervention program that lowers participation in gangs, and lessens the problems that gangs create, knowledge of the characteristics of individual gang members, must be examined.

Over the years there have been many studies into what gangs are, and what they do. Unfortunately, there seems to be very little research into why individuals join gangs, and their family, educational, and socioeconomic backgrounds (Spergel, 1995). More over, developmental perspectives need to be examined to determine whether there are predictors of gang involvement, and whether those predictors can help establish preventative programs to discourage adolescents from joining gangs, or to establish interventions that would help individuals leave their gang and start a new life.

Before a workable intervention or prevention program can be implemented, researchers must determine what, if any risk factors exist within a child's background, so that possible future gang members might be identified. Predisposing factors are the most important aspect in understanding behaviour, and trying to mitigate behaviour that may be viewed as deviant to society. Once characteristics of delinquency or gang membership are identified, at risk juveniles can be placed in preventative intervention programs to avert subsequent gang membership (Loeber & Farrington, 1998).

So far, predictors of gang involvement have not been investigated in New Zealand gangs. Once predictors have been found in New Zealand gangs, intervention programs developed overseas may be adapted to work for our gangs, or New Zealand based interventions could be developed. Therefore, it is important, in order to deal with the gang problems that plague almost every town and city in New Zealand, to examine why adolescents join gangs, and the attraction the gang holds for them.

City and district councils all around New Zealand have reported local gang problems (mostly criminal in nature), in almost every single locality within the North and South Islands (Local Government, 1997). The problems that gangs create are mostly caused by the crime that they commit, for example., drug dealing, assault, burglary, and vandalism. Though the problems faced by councils are mostly criminal in nature, other gang related nuisances like intimidation, parties almost every night, and owning large dogs that annoy local residents, add to the negative effect that gangs have on the people that live in their communities.

To get a picture of how prevalent gangs are around New Zealand, Appendix 1 shows a detailed map, that identifies the different gangs around New Zealand and which area these gangs have been reported to be active (local Government, 1997). The amount of criminal activities reported by councils to be committed by gangs are astonishing. For example., Manukau City alone have previously reported crimes like

Graffiti, Vandalism, Burglary, Theft, Property and Vehicle crimes, Inter-gang territorial, racial and tribal disputes, Fighting in public, Suspected involvement in international drug smuggling, Illegal dumping, Abandoned vehicles, Glue-sniffing, and Drug and Sexual crimes, (Local Government New Zealand, 1997). This amount of criminal activity is not a factor unique to New Zealand.

“Since the earliest days of gang research, scholars have noted the tremendously disproportionate contribution that gang members make to the level of crime in society. Indeed the observation that gang members are extensively involved in delinquency - especially serious and violent delinquency - is one of the most robust and consistent observations in criminological research”

(Loeber & Farrington, 1998, p147).

Other gangs around New Zealand have been reported to commit the above kind of crimes, as well as assault, aggravated robbery, drive by shootings, homicide, possession of firearms or explosives, drug crimes, prostitution rings, fortification of premises, and in the case of Timaru, organized crime” (Local Government, 1997). Quite obviously gangs are a serious problem for many communities, which demonstrates the importance of developing intervention, or prevention programs through predictor research.

Though the above reports of criminal activity seem to be extreme, prison statistics certainly back up the claim made by local councils. Lash, (1998) found that more than 23% of the inmates in New Zealand prisons are either current members, ex members, or affiliated with a gang. Because not all inmates could be expected to volunteer information regarding their gang involvement, this number could drastically underestimate the amount of gang members in prison. Given gang members’ cautious nature, and their reluctance to trust those in authority (Hagedorn, 1988), the chances

that there are many who withheld their gang status is high. A further 11.8% of criminals on remand for a crime are also involved in gangs (Lash, 1998).

Given the huge amount of crime carried out by gangs, or individual gang members (New Zealand police estimate that up to 78% of gang members have been convicted of a crime), (Report of the Committee on Gangs, 1981), and the reported increase in criminal activity, it is not surprising that there is an increasing concern, among governments around the world, to deal with the “gang problem”. This pressure to “fix” the problem, could be attributed to the negative media attention that gangs receive, as well as the reported crime statistics. For years, the New Zealand media have focused heavily on reporting gang crime, or suspected gang involvement in crime, which places gangs very high in many New Zealanders subconscious. It would be very difficult to find a New Zealander, other than an actual gang member, who views gangs in any kind of positive light at all.

Although societies address their concern for gang issues at the same time they glorify gang involvement through television, songs and movies, that depict gangsters in a romanticized form. The gang life is portrayed as exciting and fun, and gangsters as rich men who drive fancy cars and wear nice clothes (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). This image may motivate a young boy to enter a gang.

Gangs have gained a high profile because of the media attention, but that profile is somewhat distorted due to the negative coverage (Klein, 1971). The positive issues like gangs involvement in charities and fundraising is disregarded. The public has always relied on the media for information, and the information on gangs is biased enough to generate erroneous images, that may foster an inaccurate picture of what gangs really are, and why they exist (Report of the Committee on Gangs, 1981). Yablonsky, (1997) states that more often than not, crimes that are reported to be “gang related”, are in fact the individual offense of a person who may, or may not have an

affiliation with a gang. Gang events and crimes have a tendency to be exaggerated or sensationalized, and it is often impossible to determine the extent that gangs as an entity, actually commit crime, rather than individuals working on their own (Spergel, 1995). However, though gangs have their positive side in regards to the psychological development of its members, gangs have many negative influences on some members, as well as the community.

The pervasive way in which whole gangs are blamed for the behaviour of individual gang members, or the way in which younger members take the fall for older members crime, means that an accurate description of what is really going on, is difficult, if not impossible to determine. It is unrealistic to stereotype a person just because of the group to which he or she belongs. Individuals have fought hard to break down the stereotypes regarding ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation, but still we group gang members together and presume that they are all the same, when like society, members can be good or bad.

We cannot presume that all gang members come from similar backgrounds or socioeconomic climates, and that they joined the gang for the same reasons. It is extremely important to study gang members backgrounds, rather than rely on hearsay and speculation. Prevention's and interventions cannot work on hearsay. Past studies (Spergel, 1995) have found that there are many risk factors for delinquency and gang involvement, and that single risk factors are not likely to cause individuals to join gangs, but that a number of risk factors working together can increase one's susceptibility to gang involvement.

In this sense, there are so many conditions, like personality and situational factors that are different for everyone, but the end result may be the same. Each individual takes a different path towards gang membership. There are no set rules, or set predictors because each person is effected differently by the same things. Two

people may grow up with the same situational and environmental controls, but one may become a policeman, and another a gang member. This occurs not just because of personality factors, but other cognitive factors that allow us to perceive our surroundings differently than someone else. Our thoughts, beliefs and values dictate how we live, how we think, and how we react to the outside world. Therefore, whatever information that is unearthed about predictors, can never be generalized to everybody. Instead, guidelines and similarities can help us to better understand the many motivations behind gang membership, and see it as more than just a delinquent, wanting to cause trouble and take part in illegal behaviour.

“Gang members come in all shapes. They are short and tall, bright and dull, aggressive and passive, easy to know and practically unreachable. They manifest in short, the very same range of biological, psychological, and sociological characteristics as any large collection of self-selected youngsters in our society.”

(Klein, 1971, p 81).

Many issues relating to gangs, and why individuals join them will be discussed in this study. Problems involved in defining what gangs are will be considered, as well as the different types of gangs that have been identified in past research, and relate to New Zealand gang types. I will offer a description of New Zealand gangs and individual gang members, as well as a description of their hierarchical structure. It is my intention to provide the reader with a better understanding of the intricacies of gang involvement, as well as an understanding of the individuals that choose the gang life.

Much of the literature on gang involvement, is directly related to delinquency, therefore delinquency will be discussed throughout this paper. Many of the predictors of gang membership are also predictors of delinquency, and both interact and influence the other, to make it almost impossible, in some respects, to distinguish the two. Gang membership can be described as a form of delinquency, making gangs an issue for

those concerned with delinquency research. The focus in this paper leans towards the psychological factors that may influence one's need to join a gang, rather than environmental or behavioural factors. Psychological determinants can be as much, if not more influential than outside influences, as has been found by the New Zealand Committee on Gangs (1981), who discovered that emotional needs such as identity, status, and companionship are fulfilled through gang membership, and are strong reasons for joining a gang.

DEFINITION DILEMMAS

Before one can understand "gangs" or "gang members," one must first attempt to define them, in order to identify them. Throughout all of the past research on gangs, there has been a general difficulty in understanding what a gang is, and what it means to be a gang member. The most significant researchers in the field of "gang psychology" have all presented their own definitions of a gang (Klein, 1971; Thrasher, 1963; and Yablonsky, 1997), as many of them disagree as to a general definition that can encompass all gangs.

This difficulty exists because there are many different "types" of gangs or "social groups" that may share a number of characteristics, but cannot be understood through one definition. For example Yablonsky, (1997) states the following definition of a gang:

"All gangs have a name and a territorial neighborhood base, and they maintain a fierce proprietary interest in their neighborhood. They will fight for the territory they claim as their own and will attack any interlopers who come into their "hood" who belong to an enemy group. Joining a gang often involves a jumping in ritual that ranges from informal verbal acceptance to a violent initiation rite, and

leaving the gang takes many forms. Their commerce of drugs, their use and violent acts for the maintenance of drug territory are part of the gang configuration. Gangs provide a form of social life and camaraderie that usually involves gambling, getting high, hanging out, and partying."

(Yablonsky, 1997, p.4)

This definition could encompass an adolescent American street gang, but cannot include the New Zealand Road Knights, as there is no sense of territorial control or proprietorship. A university fraternity could, in effect, fit this definition quite well, but is not regarded as a "Gang," by anyone.

The only definition of a "gang" that describes New Zealand gangs with any accuracy is Klein's (1971) definition of an American gang. Klein (1971) described a gang as:

"Any denotable group of people who a) are generally perceived as a distinct aggregation by others in their neighborhood, b) recognize themselves as a denotable group (almost invariably with a group name) and c) have been involved in a sufficient number of delinquent incidents to call forth a consistent negative response from neighborhood residents and/or law enforcement agencies."

(Klein, 1971, p 13)

The above definition could also encompass a fraternity, however, it fits New Zealand gangs better than the other definitions, as most definitions insist that territory is an influential factor. Territory is *not* a factor related to New Zealand gangs.

A significant problem associated with identifying gangs, is the social group phenomenon. Adolescents and young adults tend to socialize in groups (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996), so one must differentiate between activities that are considered normal

adolescent behaviour and activities, or behaviours that are deviant from legitimate group activity. In some ways gang behaviour is adolescent behaviour in the extreme (Klein, 1971). Further complicating the ability to find a suitable definition is the fact that different gangs have a variety of different functions, whether it be solely for friendship and acceptance needs, financial needs, or emotional gratification through the use of violence, (Yablonsky, 1997).

TYPES OF GANGS

Yablonsky (1997), describes three different types of gangs; Social, Delinquent, and Violent, about which I will elaborate in a moment. Similarly Cloward & Ohlin (1960), describe three types of gang subcultures, Retreatist, Criminal, and Conflict, which will be discussed subsequently. Each of these gangs have a different function and structure, though one gang can be more than one type. For instance, a gang may be Social, but still participate in delinquency. Yablonsky, and Cloward and Ohlin's "types" of gangs correspond with each other, so for the purpose of this study Social and Retreatist, Criminal and Delinquent, and Violent and Conflict will be defined as the same.

Social/Retreatist gangs are possibly the most cohesive, and permanent gang type. Unlike Delinquent and Violent gangs, Social gangs are stable in structure, strongly attached to each other, and to a location (clubhouse), and are less delinquent. Cloward & Ohlin (1960) describe Retreatist/Social gangs as primarily oriented towards substance use, and abuse. Members of retreatist/social gangs are thought to be "Double Failures", in that they can not sustain legitimate employment, and they also fail to achieve any success in the business of crime (Cloward, & Ohlin 1960).

The Social gangs activities revolve around, drinking, partying, sexual activity, and drug use, with very little involvement in delinquent acts (Covey, Menard &

Franzese, 1997). The social gang is the most common, and other gangs can be seen as more specialized and rare, (Covey et al., 1997). Due to their location in lower class areas where crime and violence is typical, and there is insignificant community organization and support, Retreatists have little access to legitimate opportunity.

Legitimate opportunity is defined as when individuals have access to employment opportunities, and educational and training opportunities that allow them to succeed in society (Short, 1968). Typically, as gang members come from impoverished backgrounds, their family, and restricted environment does not give access to channels of success, that would allow them to accomplish the goals that society values (Report of the Committee on Gangs, 1981). If such educational or career opportunities exist for these people, they are limited.

Once an adolescent is rejected from the legitimate opportunities of main stream society, they tend to congregate with one another and form gangs (Klein, 1971). The gang then becomes an avenue by which the members' psychological, and sometimes financial needs, that are not met by society are fulfilled within the gang, (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996). Being a gang member contributes to the individuals isolation from institutional roles, and therefore advocates their continued involvement with the gang, as they have more opportunities in delinquency than they do in a more law abiding role (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996). In effect, gangs have created a sub-society, where "none adequate to their needs exist" (Thrasher, 1963).

One factor that defines gang behaviour, and separates them from other group types is the participation in delinquent and criminal acts. Even the most non-delinquent of gangs are often involved in illegal behaviour of some kind (Covey, et al., 1997; Lash, 1998; Spergel, 1995; Yablonsky, 1997). Possibly the most typical crime performed by gang members is the use of illegal drugs.

Because crime and gangs are often synonymous with the other, literature on delinquency is strongly related to literature on gangs. Delinquency refers to the regular committing of offenses against the law, by juveniles and young adults. Research indicates that the causes of delinquency are often the same as causes of gang membership. Delinquency may lead to gang membership (Covey, et al., 1997), and gang membership in turn, may lead to greater levels of delinquency, (Esbensen & Osgood, 1999). Prior delinquency has often been associated as a predictor of later gang involvement (Campbell, 1998), therefore much of the literature review deals not only with predictors of gang membership, but causes of delinquency as well.

Delinquent/Criminal gangs are less prevalent than social gangs, and spring up in neighborhoods and communities where adult criminal gangs are well organized and highly visible throughout the community. Delinquent/Criminal gangs form for the purpose of financial gain through illegal acts, like drug dealing, car theft and so on. These gangs are inclined to be smaller, and more organized than the other types of gangs, (Covey, et al., 1997). For Delinquent gangs, socializing and engaging in violence are secondary to their goal of illegal profiteering. This is a type of specialized gang, that forms in order to attain particular goals, such as financial gain from drug sales.

Violent/conflict gangs are the most rare gangs, and are organized around the self-gratification that particular individuals acquire through the use of violence against others. Members in violent gangs are often disturbed adolescents who perform violent activities for the emotional satisfaction that they receive from it (Covey, et al., 1997). This type of gang is the least cohesive, as emotions run high, and emotional ties to other members is low. This group is unstable and due to loose organization, does not last long. Violent gangs are more of a short term phenomenon.

Many established gangs can also move through different types during their evolution. For instance, a gang may form from a group of friends from the same neighborhood. From there, other individuals are embraced into the fold to form a social gang. Through time this social gang may evolve into a delinquent gang in order to contrive a living from the gang. From there, some may evolve into conflict gangs and others may not, although not all gangs evolve (Hagedorn, 1988).

For the purpose of this study, I would like to introduce another gang type, that may not be an internationally recognized gang type, but is certainly one that exists throughout New Zealand. That is the Entrepreneurial/ Working gang. This gang type is possibly the most prevalent throughout New Zealand, (Personal Communication, Ross Glendining, former head of the Criminal Intelligence Unit, Timaru, 2000) therefore it is important to introduce this kind gang into the literature.

Many gangs in New Zealand exist specifically to produce and sell Marijuana (Ross Glendining, 2000). These gang members wear suits, they carry cell phones, use the Internet on a regular basis, and consider the gang as a business enterprise, (Covey, et al., 1997). They regard themselves as businessmen; entrepreneurs of supply and demand, and they are highly paid for it. Members of Working gangs take their "career" very seriously.

Though Working gangs are similar to Criminal/Delinquent gangs, they differ in that they rarely commit other crimes outside of the drug trade (though individuals gang members have been known to perpetrate crimes without the knowledge or consent of the gang). Violent gang crime is more often than not the result of retribution and conflict over "dealing" territories. The drug trade is such an important factor in the gangs survival, that anyone who risks their dealing or interferes with their "income" may be in danger of violence from the gang, so violence, or crime unrelated to their trade is rare. One particular president of a working gang states that if he finds out that

one of his “members” has committed a crime unrelated to the drug trade then they are encouraged to turn themselves in, or told to leave the gang for good (Anonymous Source, Personal Communication, 2000). Contrary to popular belief, they do not agree with crime in general, and some abhor violence against others.

Working gangs can also be social in nature in that they do get together and ‘hang out’, but these get together’s are often business oriented. This gang type has binary functions. They provide an income and a career, and also the family and friends that one needs to develop. Once members have acquired a “nest egg” they often leave the gang and go “legit” by starting their own businesses with the money they have made. It is these types of gangs that the police focus on the most, as the commerce of drugs in New Zealand is worth millions every year. The police also have the most difficulty arresting these gang members as they are highly organized and cohesive (Ross Glendining, 2000). Covey, et al., (1997), in a study of working gangs, found that many of its members joined the gang in search of employment that they could not procure legitimately, and because crime pays (a lot it seems).

Working gangs may have evolved because members are staying in gangs longer, and becoming increasingly involved in gain-oriented pursuits. Perhaps this is because of a lack of legitimate employment opportunities. Patch members are especially entrenched in the gang, as they are the administrators of their trade. Because the associate members are the ones who are doing the ground work and taking the risks, Patch members, are relatively safe from prosecution. Their lack of personal responsibility in legal matters, and their profits from them, make the gang drug trade a “sweet deal” for many Patch members. New Zealand gangs offer young people the promise of financial success, and the financial success of its members increases gang loyalty, as well as increases the years spent with the gang (Meyer & Park (Eds) et al., 1998).

Working gangs have more in common with organized crime. In this respect they are not a new phenomenon, but rather they take after the Capone-like gangs of the 1920's. Gang crime in New Zealand is focused on drugs, not random and disorganized. In working gangs the drug business takes precedence over the social side of their lives (Yablonsky, 1997). Capone style gangs emerged to supply their communities with bootleg alcohol as it was prohibited at the time. Capone himself, considered that he was providing a needed service to his community, and that he was just a businessman (Yablonsky, 1997).

Many organized crime families developed larger ventures involving racketeering, money laundering and so forth, and like them, working gangs in New Zealand have expanded their enterprises to include prostitution and ownership of massage parlours (Local Government NZ, 1997). Again, these are not the violent crimes for which gangs are so well known, but illegal (prostitution), and legal (massage parlours) services that are widely used, and largely accepted throughout the world. These working gangs may have formed in New Zealand because of the lucrative opportunities that exist in a country that has an ideal climate for growing marijuana, and a population that uses it regularly.

It is important to discuss the different types of gangs, because the personal motivations behind joining the different types of gangs could be different. The personality characteristics and family backgrounds of gang members who join retreatist gangs, may be different than those who join conflict gangs, and as such, the predictors could be different. Therefore, one may not be able to generalize across gangs, when it comes to intervention or prevention programs. This is an issue that should be examined.

TYPES OF GANG MEMBERS

Like society in general, gangs have a hierarchical system of control and dominance. Gangs have many “Chapters” throughout New Zealand. For instance, Black Power has chapters in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Hamilton, and so on. Each gang has a national president, who is nominated by each chapter; and a chapter president. The national President oversees the general rules and regulations, and acts as a controlling mechanism to keep the chapters running smoothly.

Each gang chapter has a President, who controls all gang activities and dealings; Patch, or Core gang members, who have high status within the gang, and Associates, who work as mules, distributing drugs, running errands, and occasionally taking the fall for the good of the gang. Membership status within the gang is communicated in the form of Patches, which is where the name “Patch” member originates from. A Patch is the name given to a leather vest jacket that advertised the gangs name, chapter and in most cases a motif that symbolizes the gangs beliefs. For instance, Black Power New Zealand has a symbol depicting a fist surrounded by leaves (to symbolize their feelings of Power within the gang), and the Mongrel Mob has a bulldog.

To wear a patch is a great honor within gang societies. The jacket means many things to them. It unites the gang, makes them recognizable to each other (in the case of different chapters), and gives them a sense of belonging. Patch members, who have earned their jacket, are often older men who are actively involved in the functioning of the gang (Covey, et al., 1997). They supervise the business dealings, as well as report to the president on any disciplinary issues, and if need be carry out the discipline. They are often the ones who make the key decisions in the gang.

Associate members, who have yet to earn their “Patch”, are highly involved with the daily dealings of the gang. They are often involved with the gang because of

their relationships with Patch members (Covey, et al., 1997). Quite often, individuals get involved because they have a sibling in the gang. Patch members oversee the “Business” dealings of the gang, and as such, Associates may act as “Mules”, transporting drugs, or looking after crops, (Yablonsky, 1997). In a sense, they are employees, and the Patch members are management.

According to Spengel, (1990) there are also Peripheral members, and Wannabes. Peripheral members’ involvement is more irregular and flexible, as they are often just friends of members who hang out at the gang headquarters occasionally, but are not considered members. Wannabes are the young recruits who want to be in the gang, but are yet to prove themselves and gain admittance (Yablonsky, 1997). Sometimes these impressionable young men are used to sell drugs and “take the rap” for older members. They are so intent on impressing the “Gangsters” that they are quite happy to do so. If they prove their loyalty and fearlessness, they may become Associates and later, Patch members. Essentially, the older Core members rarely become directly involved in illegal activities, as they have others to do the job for them.

For the purpose of this study, only Patch, and Associate members were used, as Peripheral and Wannabes are not actual members yet. Peripheral gang members cannot really be classed as “members”, as they are usually just friends of gang members who occasionally hang out with the gang. Wannabes, in turn are usually young adolescents who would like to be in the gang, but are not yet admitted into the gang. They have nothing whatsoever to do with gang activities or gang structure. In essence, they are the “fans,” who idolize the older members, but are not accepted as having any involvement.

Like possible differences between individuals who join retreatist, criminal or conflict gangs, there could also be differences between Patch and Associate members, in regards to why they joined, and their origins. There may be personality characteristics that Patch members have, that allowed them to move up in the ranks,

and gain approval and respect, while some remain Associates for their entire gang career. This issue will be investigated further.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theorists and researchers have been inclined to study gangs within a sub-cultural, community, and group perspective (Spergel, 1995). Though research into gang behaviour, group identity and gang crime is valuable to the field of sociology, more attention needs to be paid towards individual psychological perspectives, that may influence individual differences in choosing the gang lifestyle. Researchers need to examine developmental, and life course issues within individuals, not whole gangs, (Loeber & Farrington, 1998).

It is important to examine developmental and psychological perspectives because past studies have shown that, though there are certain predictors of gang membership that are inherent in many gang members; one cannot account for unique personal differences and needs that influence someone to join, and someone not to join, given the same environmental and familial circumstances. Family, Community, and individual variables as well as ethnic and gender issues have been identified by most researchers as being related to gang involvement and delinquency, (Evans, et al., 1999).

By learning more about environmental and familial risk factors as well as individual psychological influences, it may be possible to develop "prevention" programs to lower the rates of gang membership. Studies have shown that attempting to halt a person's gang membership after they have already been in the gang, has not proved successful (Covey, et al., 1997). Therefore, it becomes crucial to prevent adolescents from joining gangs rather than attempt to intervene.

Note that the presence of risk factors do not mean that a person will join a gang under certain conditions, but that individual and environmental factors can increase a persons vulnerability to gang membership. Obviously risk factors and predictive factors are important and advantageous in the study of gangs, yet few studies have been done in this area. Researchers must turn their attention from studying *gangs* and instead study *gang members*, to determine individual risk factors involved in gang membership. This study attempts to learn more about possible risk factors for later gang membership within New Zealand gangs. Past studies have shown that there are often multiple and varied risk factors that overlap in ones' background that lead to gang membership, or delinquency (Loeber, 1998).

Predictors of gang involvement are not easy to identify, for a number of reasons. One could try to explain gang membership at the social organizational level, but the social psychological aspect cannot be disregarded as not all individuals in the same circumstances join a gang. There are quite obviously personal differences, and individual needs that can not be ignored.

That said, studies have identified, general Macro-social influences, and Micro-social influences that are involved in later gang involvement (Covey, et al., 1997). Macro-social influences are environmental, community factors that effect an individuals reason for joining a gang. Micro-social influences are the personal and familial factors that lead to gang involvement. Risk factors from both of these areas will be discussed forthwith. An intervention that looks at both Micro and Macro-sociological theory must be developed if we are to obtain explanations for gang membership and to create policy relating to intervention methods, (Spergel, 1995).

Many researchers (Covey, et al., 1997; Santrock, 1995; Spergel, 1995), have found five main categories of factors that have been found to be predictive of gang membership in almost every study carried out on gangs. These are *community*

variables, which include issues such as lack of community support and a lack of facilities to assist local families; *family* issues, which include such things as low family cohesion, neglect and lack of discipline; *education* achievement, for instance, whether the individual gained school certificate, dropped out, or got into a lot of trouble at school; *poverty*, the socioeconomic status of the members family, unemployment, as well as the disorganized community in which they live, and *psychological* dimensions, such as conduct problems, low self-esteem, lack of social interaction skills. Three other dimensions of risk factors; Negative Role Models, Prior Delinquency and Limited Opportunity (which will be described in more depth later), have also been found by many researchers to be related to gang involvement, (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Loeber & Farrington, 1989; Yablonsky, 1997).

COMMUNITY FACTORS

Macro-social influences include influences in one's environment and community, that are negatively influencing the individual. Individuals who grow up poor neighbourhoods, grow up with a deviant attitude towards crime and delinquency in that they are exposed to a criminal environment. This exposure could lead an individual to view gang membership as a natural progression, and part of life in the slums (Cromwell, Taylor, & Palacios, 1992). When an individual sees that the most financially "successful" people in his neighborhood are the gang members and criminals, they may see gang membership as the best option for them, (Yablonsky, 1997).

Disadvantaged communities may also have inferior schools and educational facilities. Those who do attempt to get an education may be getting a poor one, especially those who belong to ethnic minority groups. In New Zealand, what schools teach, and how they teach it, are based around European ideals and standards that may be inadequate for ethnic minority youths (Spergel, 1995). That is not to say that the

New Zealand school system is inferior or inadequate, but only that specific needs of minority youth are not being met, which is a factor that affects schooling throughout the world (Klein, 1971).

An individual's community may have few facilities to occupy the lives and minds of the adolescents in their area. With boredom and poverty together, an individual may lean towards criminal or illegal activities to occupy his or her time (Gullotta, Adams (Ed's), et al, 1998). There may be few if any sports facilities or youth clubs, that allow one's community to supervise and control the behaviour of at risk youth and, therefore, lower delinquency and gang involvement, (Gullotta et al., 1998).

Other Community factors (Macro-social influences) that have been shown to be related to delinquency and gang involvement are high resident mobility, high population density, heterogeneity within the community, unemployment, social withdrawal from community residents, and deteriorating business conditions (Loeber & Farrington, 1998). High resident mobility means that there is very little opportunity to form social networks that could assist in the supervision of the activities of the local youths (Gullotta et al., 1998). High population density can lead to high competitiveness in the local job market, fewer opportunities to go around, and declining living conditions due to overcrowding.

In neighbourhoods with high heterogeneity, there are many conflicting groups, especially conflicting gangs that can act as an impetus for violence and low cohesion. Individuals may not feel any sense of belonging in their community, which can lead to feelings of alienation. Youths may join gangs to lower their feelings of alienation, and so that they can feel like they fit in and belong somewhere, (Cromwell, et al., 1992).

A community influence that is related to gang involvement and delinquency, is the economic climate that the individual is reared in. Unemployment is high in low quality neighborhoods that have many gangs (Covey et al., 1988). Unemployment comes with declining business conditions. For many, they may be forced to leave their community to search for work, thereby contributing to resident mobility, or they may become immersed in poverty because of their financial inability to leave the declining community (Loeber & Farrington, 1998). These situational and environmental factors can lead to feelings of failure, social isolation, low self-esteem, alienation, and a lack of cohesiveness, which are all related to gang involvement, (Loeber & Farrington, 1998).

An important influence that one's community has on a person's susceptibility to gang involvement is the amount of gangs in one's neighborhood (Covey, et al., 1997). The more gangs in the community and the schools, the more accessible they are to neighborhood children, and consequently, the more likely the youngsters are of knowing gang members or having friends in gangs. In the United States, many gang members grew up in communities where crime, drugs, and gangs are a regular occurrence (Dunphy, 1969; Klein, 1971). This exposure is influential on neighborhood children, and the individuals cannot help but be exposed to drugs (related to gang involvement, Hill, Howell, Hawkins & Battin-Pearson, 1999) and to interact with people who are negative role models of behaviour, (Santrock, 1995). All of these community factors can increase ones susceptibility to gang involvement.

EDUCATION

Education is quite obviously a concern in predictor research, as many delinquents and gang members appear to have failed academically in school, or performed badly (Covey, et al., 1997). Research indicates that many gang members have not finished high school, or achieved success in high school. The Report of the Committee on Gangs (1981) found that many gang members had been frequent truants

throughout school, and had left as soon as was legal to do so. Researchers have also found that many ethnic minority groups struggle more at school than those of European heritage, a group which is sometimes over-represented in gangs and delinquency (Spergel, 1995).

Stress is high in poverty stricken areas, and, therefore, education is seen as lower in priority than immediate financial needs. Tension created by financial struggles, coupled with the stress of living in marginalized areas (Gullotta et al., 1998), can lead parents to be too involved in their own problems to worry about whether their child is attending school, or doing homework. Truancy, is a strong indicator of delinquency (Report of the Committee on Gangs, 1981; Klein, 1971; Local Government, 1997), as these youths have too much time on their hands, and very little discipline from parents when it comes to attending school, (Klein, 1971).

Researchers that have investigated gang members academic achievements have found that most members have either dropped out of school, have failed to gain any academic achievement, have been highly truant, do not relate well to the curriculum, are not interested in education, have low IQ's and often have learning difficulties (Evans, et al., 1999; Hill, et al., 1999; Klein, 1971; and Payne, 1997).

Many gang members felt a low commitment to school, as they often did not fit in, or cope well with the curriculum, (Hill, et al., 1999). As stated earlier, the curriculum is often inappropriate for some individuals, those from ethnic minorities, therefore they do not feel especially bonded to school, or feel that they can succeed in the education system. Gang members are also known to get into trouble at school, with disruptive behaviour that does not promote learning.

Loeber and Farrington (1998) found that many gang members had a below average IQ. Klein (1971) found that the average IQ for gang members was 90.

Though many members do have a below average IQ, it is much more realistic to look at school failures in a behavioural, psychological context. IQ may influence how well one can learn, but factors such as motivation, determination and enjoyment of learning can also influence one's academic accomplishments. That is to say that it is possible for a person with a low IQ to achieve passing grades, just as it is possible for someone who has a high IQ to fail. It can come down to how much effort is put in. Many of the risk factors discussed earlier could contribute to learning and concentration difficulties in school. If a child has an horrific home-life, there situation is surely going to affect their abilities to concentrate and learn and to actively participate in education. As many researchers have found, this kind of negative family environment is common in the family backgrounds of many gang members.

FAMILY FACTORS

Family factors are the most influential micro-social factor involved in delinquency and gang membership as children are first socialized by their family, and learn behaviours from those around them (Bandura, 1977). A child's world is a small one. Their lives revolve around their families and later, school and peers (Youniss & Smoller, 1985). If the family environment is a deviant or unfavorable one, the child may learn deviant attitudes towards crime, such as, believing that some crime is justified, that if you do not get caught it is all right, and to have no respect for authority (Loeber & Farrington, 1997) and deviant behaviour patterns such as drug taking, and aggressiveness, that may lead them to become involved in delinquency and gangs.

If an individual grows up in a violent environment where family conflict is high, he/she may learn to cope with his or her problems using violence or aggression (Toch, 1972). Decker & Van Winkle (1996) have found that gang members have a tendency to be aggressive or violent, and to participate in criminal behaviour, so we must ask where that behaviour came from. One of the highest predictors of gang involvement is

childhood neglect (Loeber & Farrington, 1997). Low parent involvement in a youths activities and neglect may lead the child to misbehave and take on delinquent tendencies in order to get attention from the parents that ignore them. This occurs even if the attention that they receive is negative. Neglect has a more pronounced negative influence than childhood maltreatment (Loeber & Farrington, 1998).

Familial conflict can also reinforce a child's delinquent behaviour. Campbell (1998) found that a conflict within the family has a noxious influence, in that it causes distress in the child. The child then reacts to the conflict emotionally and sometimes aggressively, which in turn can defuse the family tension. By acting out, he has gained his parents' attention, disrupted the fight, and consequently ended the fight. By ending the fight, which was having a negative effect on the child, his behaviour has been positively reinforced. The child has learned that if he want to stop his or her parents from fighting, all he or she has to do is to react emotionally to it.

For some families the conflict becomes violent. Covey, et al., (1997), Loeber & Farrington (1998), and Hill, et al., (1999) all found that youth who had been physically or sexually abused as children were much more likely to join gangs later in life, than those who were not abused. Abuse between the parents was also a factor. Loeber & Farrington (1998) found that when they compared physical and sexual abuse, that those who were physically abused were more likely to join gangs and become delinquent than non abused youth. Loeber & Farrington, (1998) also found that those who were physically abused were more likely to join gangs than those who had been sexually abused. Boys raised in abusive families were also far more likely to be convicted of a violent offense, (Loeber & Farrington, 1998).

Children who come from broken homes where they are separated from a parent are also in danger of joining a gang (Hill, et al., 1999). The gang may provide them with a sense of having a stable "family", when their real family is unstable or

broken. It provides them with the love and attention that may be lacking. Loeber and Farrington, (1998) found that a lack of warmth towards ones child can predict later delinquency and gang involvement. How well a child is bonded towards a parent is directly related to delinquency.

The attachment style that the child develops relates to the relationships that they will have with others. Children who have parents that lack warmth and affection may feel insecure in their attachment to their parents. This could lead to an anxious or avoidant attachment, which could drive them to look for their relationship needs elsewhere, such as in the gang. If a child is well bonded with a parent, and has a successful relationship with them, then that bond inhibits their delinquent behaviour and lessens the likelihood of joining a gang (Loeber & Farrington, 1998).

Campbell, (1998) found that family structure was highly related to gang involvement and delinquent behaviour, in that two biological parent families and families where the mother and grandmother raise the child are at the lowest risk for behavioural and psychological problems. Families consisting of single mother and mother/stepfather families, or not living with either parent were found to have the highest risk (Campbell, 1998, Dukes, Martinez & Stein, 1997). According to Ancona (1999), fatherlessness can be considered a precursor to almost all behavioural and psychological problems related to delinquency and gang membership.

Families may be inadequately disciplining their wayward children, through the use of violence, emotional abuse and mixed or punitive punishment (Loeber & Farrington, 1998). Abusing a child when he/she misbehaves may inhibit the behaviour for a time, but over time leads to the child trying to escape the hostile environment (Campbell, 1998). Unfortunately, this makes children more vulnerable to joining a gang in order to procure a surrogate family that will protect them from harm (Spergel, 1995). Children who experience a violent environment, often themselves become

violent. Violence is an antecedent and a consequence, as children learn to achieve goals through violence (Campbell, 1998).

A dominant familial risk factor related to delinquency and gang involvement is parental alcohol and drug abuse, and criminal parents (Hill, et al., 1999; Yablonsky, 1997). For many gang members, their male family members are often in prison, or involved in criminal acts like drug dealing, (Klein, 1971; Yablonsky, 1997). Frequently, parents are addicted to alcohol or drugs, which can also lead to arrests, or physical violence as they are deficient parents when under the influence (Spergel, 1995). Parents who are in a state of intoxication can not adequately supervise or support their children, as their decision making processes are altered, and they are more prone to mood swings in an inebriated state. Unfortunately many children go the way of their parents and become drug and alcohol dependent as well, not to mention involved in criminal activities and delinquency.

Many gang members become involved in gangs because a parent, sibling, uncle or other family member is involved. Familial involvement is an important influence (Campbell, 1984; Covey, et al., 1997; Yablonsky, 1997). Covey et al., (1997) found that the probability of joining a gang grew with the more of ones family members involved in the gang. When family members are gang members, the child has greater access to the gang, and the gang becomes a socializing mechanism that influences the child to later join themselves, as in a small way they are already associated, (Campbell, 1984).

To see clearly how familial factors can cause delinquency and gang membership, Campbell, (1998) presented a developmental model for anti-social behaviour that was developed by Patterson, DeBaryshe, and Ramsey (1989). This model is presented on the following page.

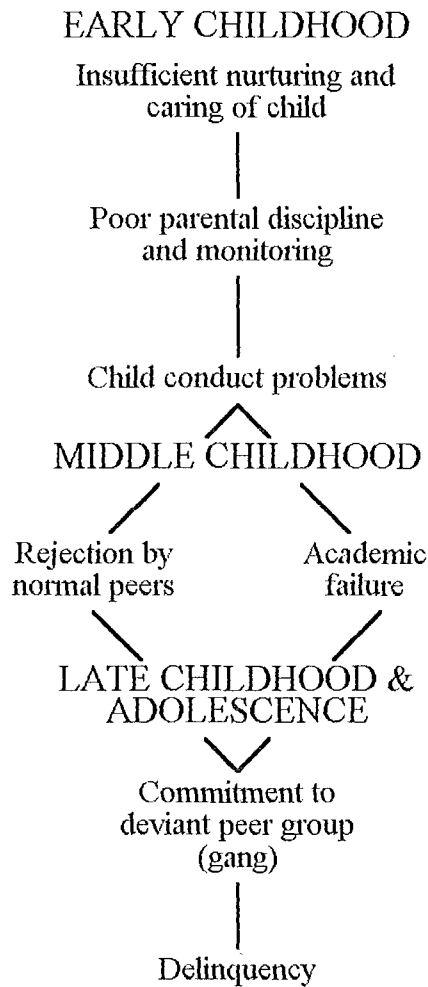


Figure 1. A Developmental Model for Anti-social Behaviour. developed by Patterson, DeBaryshe and Ramsey (1989).

From this diagram, it is easy to see that families lacking in nurturing or the necessary skills to care for a child and to develop a bond with the child can negatively influence that child's development. They may develop conduct problems and disorder in response to a lack of caring, which in turn effects how the child will develop social relationships with others. These problems can affect attentiveness to learning and create learning difficulties or disorders that lead to academic failure. Once a child is rejected by normal, non-delinquent peers, and have encountered limited opportunities in the working world due to their academic failure, they may join a gang, or become

delinquent. This model illustrates the importance of investigating developmental factors in later gang involvement.

PRIOR DELINQUENCY

Early delinquency is a dominant factor linked to later gang involvement. The kind of delinquency that has been associated with later gang involvement is antisocial behaviour, destruction of property, stealing (mainly shop lifting), early sexual activity, drug selling, smoking, and drinking (Loeber & Farrington, 1998). To understand why delinquency is prevalent in gang members backgrounds, psychologists must acknowledge social learning factors. Loeber & Farrington, (1998) found that children with criminal fathers were far more likely to commit crimes themselves, than children with fathers who have not committed crimes. This can be said for those children whose fathers or other family members are in prison.

In families where crime is normative, there are fewer limits set on a child's behaviour. Parents fail to set clear expectations for behaviour, and to instill non-criminal attitudes and beliefs in their children. Instead the child grows up in an environment that is favourable to violence, teaches antisocial beliefs and encourages illegal behaviours like drug taking and consumption of alcohol under age (Loeber & Farrington, 1998). Loeber & Farrington (1998) also found that criminal parents encourage their children to be hostile towards law enforcement officers, all of which have been found to predict later gang involvement.

In several studies gang members have been found to be more highly delinquent, before joining a gang, while they are in the gang, and after they have left the gang, than those who have no gang involvement, (Covey, et al., 1997; Hill, et al., 1999; Loeber & Farrington, 1998). Anti-social behaviours that are performed by delinquents, and are known to predict gang involvement are stealing, smoking, drug dealing, destruction of

property, sexual offenses, assault and other crimes against persons, (Loeber & Farrington, 1998; Hill, et al., 1999).

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

Obviously individual psychological characteristics are related to one's likelihood of joining a gang. Klein, (1971) states that "Offenders are people, offenses are the act of people; and therefore the answer must lie in the psychological characteristics of the people involved" (Klein, 1971, p37). Psychological risk factors are prevalent throughout all of the research, (Loeber & Farrington, 1997), and are therefore important in identifying children who are at risk for later delinquency and gang involvement. Loeber & Farrington, (1997), identified conduct problems, hyperactivity, attention deficit disorder, impulsivity, and risk taking behaviours as related to later gang involvement. Conduct problems are possibly the most robust individual characteristics as they have been found in many studies (Campbell, 1998).

Another personality factor associated with gang involvement is a serious lack of impulse control (Duke, et al., 1997). Gang members are less able to restrain themselves from expressing hostility, aggression, greed, and status needs, (Klein, 1971). Unfortunately the expression of these factors is often reinforced within the gang, as those impulsive behaviours are seen as acceptable in gang life, (Klein, 1971). Social incompetence, due to shyness, distrust of others, and anti-social behaviour has also been linked to gang membership (Erwin, 1998), as well as novelty and excitement seeking behaviour patterns, (Loeber & Farrington, 1997; Report of the Committee on Gangs, 1981).

In almost every study on gang membership, there is some mention of self-esteem, as being highly commensurate with gang membership and delinquency, (Covey, et al., 1997; Duke, et al., 1997; Santrock, 1995). What is meant by

self-esteem in such studies relates to one's feelings about themselves, and their self-worth. Self-esteem interacts with gang membership in a number of ways. Low self-esteem can influence an individual to join a gang, and the gang in turn increases their self-esteem, (Santrock, 1995).

Outside of the gang, the individual's have no confidence in their abilities, or feel that they have nothing to offer (Duke, et al., 1997), but within the gang, they gain esteem just from being regarded as a member of something, regardless of what that membership entails. They gain esteem from being able to fight, or to drink their gang mates under the table, or to carry out a crime faster and more efficiently than others, (Santrock, 1995) which are abilities that are not seen in a good light outside of the gang. The shared identity that comes from gang membership and the camaraderie enhance a person's sense of worth, as they are not rejected or judged by their gang mates (Covey, et al., 1997).

Everyone needs to feel good about themselves, and to feel worthy and loved. When these esteem needs are not met, individuals feel inferior, weak, frustrated, and helpless. This can lead them to behave badly or delinquently (Maslow, 1970). Maslow (1970), identifies two different sets of esteem needs, Achievement and Reputation, Reputation esteem needs, presumably, are met through gang membership. Within the gang an individual gains a reputation, which fulfills status needs, prestige and respect by others which enhance social confidence, and attention, recognition, appreciation, dominance, importance and glory, which all work to enhance a person's general feelings of self-worth and esteem.

A predominant personal factor that seems to be related to gang involvement is psychological comfort. Yablonsky, (1997) believes that a person's need to feel a part of something, and their need to be accepted and achieve status within the gang, which all contribute to feelings of psychological comfort, are some of the strongest reasons for

gang membership, especially among ethnic minority groups. Ethnic minority youth feel alienated from the larger society and the only group that they feel they can identify with is the gang (Yablonsky, 1997).

LIMITED OPPORTUNITY

Past research has found that poor, and limited opportunities in one's community is drastically related to delinquency and gang membership, (Report of the Committee on Gangs, 1981). In some respects, the individual may have little choice when it comes to joining a gang. It may be the only option open to them, in a society that limits individuals from low socioeconomic backgrounds from achieving legitimate goals.

Limited opportunities for women have been found to predict female gang membership more than any other predictor (Covey, et al., 1997). Sexism and few career opportunities for females in lower class areas work to hinder adolescent females from feeling that they can succeed, and they can turn to gang membership as a way of succeeding in anti-social areas. Not only for female gang members but for males as well, the gang becomes their only source of achievement and status (Yablonsky, 1997). The standards for gang membership are low, therefore, it is much easier for these individuals to achieve gang membership than it is to succeed in the more demanding field of education or employment (Yablonsky, 1997). There are very few limits involved in joining a gang, all you need is the desire to participate (Rubin, 1980).

POVERTY

Studies have shown that many gang members come from poverty stricken backgrounds (Klein, 1971), and these lower class individuals are often judged by middle-class standards that they do not feel they can emulate (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996). These individuals become frustrated because of these judgments and

consequently turn to the group affiliation of the gang. Poverty alone does not cause delinquency and gang membership, but it does facilitate it (Klein, 1971). This could be because crime rates and criminal role models are disproportionately high in poorer neighborhood's (Klein, 1971). Disadvantaged people are repeatedly exposed to these negative role models, as there are so many of them in their communities.

Deviant and delinquent behaviour is rife within low socioeconomic communities, and consequently a large part of life in the slums (Klein, 1971). As such, the delinquent behaviour becomes somewhat of a norm within closed communities, and thought that behaviour is deviant from mainstream society it is conforming and rational to those in lower class areas (Dunphy, 1969). Poverty leads to stress, stress can lead to alcohol or drug abuse, which in turn can lead to violence and delinquency.

ROLE MODELS

Bandura (1977), a social learning theorist believes that we learn from those around us, and if those around us show a negative or deviant behavioural pattern, then the chances are very high, that the deviant behaviour will be imitated by young adolescents who are susceptible to learning such behaviour. The most influential role models for boys, are their fathers (Yablonsky, 1997). Boys with criminal fathers are much more likely to commit violent criminal acts (Loeber & Farrington, 1998).

Loeber and Farrington (1998) found that children who knew and associated with more criminal adults, were far more likely to participate in violence than those with no criminal role models. Role models are powerful. They can work to inhibit deviant behaviour, in the case of a positive non-delinquent role model, or encourage it with negative role models (Yablonsky, 1997). Many gang studies have found that gang members have either no role models at all, or negative criminal ones, (Local, Government, 1997; Yablonsky, 1997; Duke, et al., 1997).

There is a growing concern by community and governmental leaders for inner city, ethnic minority youth, as there is a serious lack of role models with whom they can identify (Santrock, 1995). Introducing a child to a positive role model will only work if the individual identifies with the adult. An ethnic minority youth, from an impoverished background will not be influenced by a white upper class male with whom he has nothing in common. These youth know that white men can succeed, what they need to learn is that people from the same ethnic and socioeconomic background can also succeed.

Delinquent peers also make influential role models, as a child's identity is often associated with the group he/she is affiliated with (Ancona, 1999). In adolescence individuals take on their groups attitudes, ideals, beliefs and behaviours (Ancona, 1999). When these peer role models live by beliefs and moral standards that are negative, the individual has no internal controls against norm violating behaviour (Loeber & Farrington, 1998). Defiance of basic rules of conduct, is associated with gang membership.

FRIENDLESSNESS

The consequences of friendlessness, has been studied in psychological and sociological terms, but not in gang research. I have added this theoretical proposition to the literature review because I believe that it is an area of one's past that should be examined when it comes to gang membership, but which has never been looked at in this context. The reason I think that it is relevant is because Erwin, (1998) found that social incompetence, which can lead to friendlessness, is often associated with the types of problems that are related to delinquency and gang membership.

Covey et al., (1997) found that social incompetence can increase one's likelihood of joining a gang. Poverty, lack of education and poor social skills taught by

parents, which are associated with gang membership, can be manifested in social disability. For a child who does not have the social skills to make good friends, association with deviant peers may develop because they are the only ones who accept them regardless of the social prowess (Local Government, 1997).

In studies on friendship it has become obvious that individuals need to feel they belong to a group. A need that can only be achieved through friendships with peers (Rubin, 1980). Within friendships, children learn the social skills needed to get on well with others, conform to societal norms, and learn the skills they need for fulfillment of career and educational goals. Social skills are incredibly important to the positive development of the child, and without them, they may become deviant or delinquent (Erwin, 1998).

Having no friends to guide positive behaviour and provide group identity and self-esteem, could lead individuals to become angry, depressed, aggressive and defensive (Erwin, 1998). They may act aggressive because of their frustration in not being able to make friends, or be accepted. They in turn become isolated and feel like they are outsiders. Some friendless individuals have been known to comfort themselves with food or drugs, or bully those who are socially confident. Many of these consequences have been mentioned in gang literature, (Covey, et al., 1997).

To understand better how friendlessness interacts with gang membership, Erwin (1998) developed a “Model of the Causes and Consequences of Friendlessness” that is shown on the following page. This diagram usually ends with “leads to a need to find accepting peer group”, but I have added “Gang Membership” because the accepting peer group is likely to be a gang. This is because research has indicated that gangs are accepting of everyone regardless of skills, intelligence or abilities (Rubin, 1980), therefore they would be more likely to befriend those with social disabilities than any other group of people.

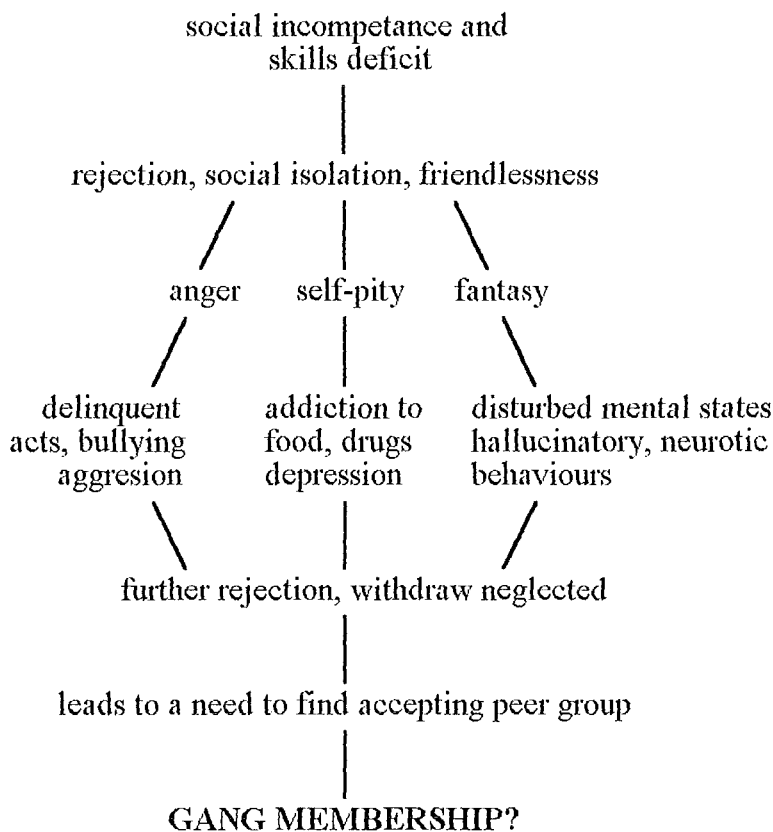


Figure 2. A Model of the Causes and Consequences of Friendlessness, developed by Erwin (1998).

Friendlessness, which usually comes from a lack of social skills or an inability to interact socially with others, also has a developmental aspect similar to Patterson, DeBaryshe, and Ramsey's (1989) model of anti-social behaviour (see Figure 1. p26). It is clear that each of the factors mentioned in this diagram, have negative effects on one's development. When a child is incompetent in the arena of friendship, it is made difficult, if not impossible to make, or sustain positive relationships with peers of their own age (Porter & Tomaselli, 1989). When a child is incapable of making friends, they may feel anger and resentment with those who can, and become bullies with those who are weaker, but more socially confident, than themselves (Porter & Tomaselli, 1989).

When a child or adolescent is incapable of making friends they become isolated and withdrawn, which sustains the problem, rather than aiding it. We all need friends, they are important in our psychological and emotional development, therefore a child who cannot make friends well, will look towards finding a group that will accept him/her. For some, a gang may be the only group that will accept them without the adequate skills that are expected in friendships. As stated earlier, the gang is accepting of almost everyone, regardless of social competence, therefore gang membership may very well be an end product of friendlessness.

Throughout the literature review it may have become obvious that the research on risk factors has concentrated on general risk factors for all gang members, with almost no information concerning long term Patch members versus short term Associate members, and the possible differences in predictors for the two groups.

A point of interest that I will be investigating in this study, is whether there are differences between Patch and Associate gang members on measures of Personality, Family Environment, Attachment, Self-esteem and Schooling. Past research has grouped gang members together, which may, or may not, be an inherent weakness that has the ability to distort findings, and diminish the feasibility of treatment programs for gang members. I believe it is important to examine whether differences exist, in order to develop reliable interventions. Interventions that may work for Patch members may conceivably fail with Associate members, therefore, it is imperative that possible differences be discovered.

SPECIFIC CONCERNS OF STUDY

A number of hypotheses are to be tested in this study, which are based on the findings of past studies, as well as beliefs about New Zealand gangs, and the possible differences between Patch and Associate gang members. Though the focus of this

study is gang members in general, differences in the predictors for Patch and Associate members has never been examined. Therefore, analysis of the data will examine gang members in general as well as the two types of member.

Hypothesis 1: Associate members will have Higher levels of family conflict than Patch members, but both member types will come from families that experience conflict, as family conflict has been found to be a predictor of criminality and gang membership.

Presumably, high levels of conflict will serve to cause individuals to search elsewhere for social support and comfort. The higher the level of conflict within the family of origin the more time the individual will spend with the gang. Both Patch and Associates will have high levels of conflict at home, however, Associates would be more likely to join the gang because of this conflict than Patch members. The reason for this is that Patch members joined gangs earlier, when gangs were only groups of friends who had common interests and liked hanging out. These days, as gangs have evolved, they have become an escape for adolescents who have problems and needs that are not being met elsewhere. As such, the younger ones will have different needs, and motivations for joining.

Hypothesis 2: Low levels of self-esteem will be associated with high levels of happiness in the gang, as self-esteem is potentially enhanced within the gang. Patch members will also have more self-esteem than Associates, and feel happier in the gang.

Because Patch members have been in the gang for many years, and have consequently become part of the group, they would feel happier in the gang than Associate members who have not yet formed their identity with the gang. Patch members would also be more competent in gang activities and therefore feel more self-esteem within the gang than Associates, who are still trying to prove themselves, and develop skills that are admired within the gang. Self-esteem before entering the

gang, would be low for both Patch and Associate gang members, and those who felt very little self-esteem outside of the gang would feel happier in the gang, where they are accepted unconditionally for who they are.

Hypothesis 3: Patch members will be more conscientious than Associate gang members, as their “position” in the drug business holds more responsibility than associates. However, gang members will score lower in conscientiousness than normal populations.

The reason that Patch members are likely to be more conscientious is because Patch members have moved up in the gang ranks and have been given responsibilities and jobs that Associates do not have. The older members are the ones who benefit from the dealing of drugs, and have, therefore, developed work ethics within the gang. Associates however, are given no responsibility and are more involved with the social aspect of the gang life, and are consequently yet to develop conscientiousness.

Hypothesis 4: Patch members will be more securely attached in their relationships than Associate members, and Associates will be higher in Anxious-Ambivalent, and Avoidant attachment than Patch members.

Patch members would have been in the gang for a long time, and they would have developed secure relationships with the other members. Over time the gang would provide the kind of stability and security that people need, in order to feel safe and secure in their presence. Associates, however, are relative newcomers and would not yet have developed the sense of security that the gang would eventually provide them. When first developing relationships with other gang members, Associates would feel more anxious about their place in the gang. As older members joined because of friendships that developed into gangs, their relationships with their families would have been more secure than Associates relationships with family members. As such,

Associates would be more likely to join because of Anxious or Avoidant relationships with family members. Joining a gang may be a way of escaping and avoiding conflictual and dangerous relationships at home.

Hypothesis 5: Gang members will be more neurotic than non gang members, and Associates will be more neurotic than Patch members.

For those who feel anxious and fearful, and worry a lot, the gang may be a protective unit that makes them feel safe and secure, and less neurotic about the stressors and worries of the outside world. Within a network of friends and gang members, there are people who one is able to talk to about any problems, and share their concerns and fears, thereby lessening them. Many needs are met by gang membership, and the support that gangs provide allow someone who is neurotic to become less so.

Associates will be more neurotic than Patch members as they have yet to develop the supportive network into a calming environment that shelters them from fear and anxiety. For the younger Associate members, they are still trying to prove themselves, and develop trust for other members. Gang members will be more neurotic than non members because many gang members have been hurt or discriminated against in the past, and, therefore, find it extremely difficult to trust others, and feel secure around other people.

Hypothesis 6: Gang members, both Patch and Associate, will have lower levels of family cohesion than the normative population, as lack of cohesion has been found to be a strong predictor of delinquency and gang membership.

Low levels of family cohesion has been found to be a predictor of gang involvement and delinquency (Moos and Moos, 1986), therefore, gang members in this

study will come from families that rarely help or support each other, and do not feel close to each other.

Hypothesis 7: Gang members will have had either negative adult role models during their upbringing, or no role models at all. Though role models of gang members have not been examined in the past, I propose that social learning theory would dictate that the role models would be negative, or absent.

Yablonsky (1997) found that many youths who joined gangs, (particularly ethnic minority youths), have had either no positive and moral role models, or the role models that they have had, have been criminal or negative in nature. A lack of a positive male role model seems to be consistently found in the backgrounds of delinquent youth. For many, their father, brothers or uncles have been in and out of prison, and heavily involved in drugs, alcohol and gangs (Yablonsky, 1997).

Hypothesis 8: Gang members would have had few if any close friends while they were growing up, and would have been more vulnerable to peer pressure. They would also be less likely to have a best friend, or belong to social clubs or groups, prior to gang membership. This pattern of behaviour is consistent with past research into children who have joined gangs.

Much of the research on friendships and social relationships talk about the consequences of friendlessness, and how that can effect their lives. As shown by Figure 2. (Erwin, 1998), those with no, or few friends feel anger towards those who do, have low self-esteem (which can lead to depression and addictions), and lean towards gang membership as a way of gaining acceptance by peers. Families of gang members may have been strict and controlling when it comes to their children's friends, and may have consequently hindered their child's relationships with others, or stopped them from being involved in sports clubs or social groups, as a way of asserting their control.

Financial status may also hinder a child's interaction in sports groups, because parents may have been unable to afford the gear needed.

Hypothesis 9: Gang members would have achieved few academic accomplishments and would have done fairly poorly at school, as has been found by many American studies.

Research has consistently shown that gang members tend to drop out of school early, fail to succeed academically, do not go on to tertiary education, and are often suspended due to misbehaviour and delinquency within the school, (Spergel, 1995).

SCALES AND MEASURES

These hypotheses were tested using a number of different measures. Certain personality and personal factors have been proven to be risk factors associated with gang involvement (Loeber & Farrington, 1998). There are basic needs that need to be met on a personal level, that are just as crucial as any physical need. Maslow's needs hierarchy places a tremendous amount of importance on personal belongingness and love needs, personal factors that are important to all people. People in general, crave love and affection. It is as important to their feelings of worthiness than self-actualization. Individuals need to feel secure that they have a place in the world, somewhere they belong (Maslow, 1970). If an individual does not receive the love and affection he needs in his home life, he will do anything to achieve it elsewhere (Maslow, 1970). Not fulfilling these personal needs can have an adverse affect on one's personality development.

Gang members have displayed personality traits consistent with, risk-taking behaviour, distrust, aggressiveness, lack of ambition and many others, therefore it is important to examine how New Zealand gang members score on the personality

dimensions. We know that many individuals join gangs because of the love and acceptance that they receive, so it is conceivable that gang members may be high in neuroticism, and anxiety, as well as low in openness, and agreeableness.

To test personality factors that may be involved in gang membership, Costa and McCrae's (1985) NEO Personality Inventory was used. The NEO examines the "Big Five" aspects of personality; Neuroticism, Extroversion, Openness, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness. The five factor model encompasses all of the personality dimensions that have been shown in a consistent manner to rate personality (McCrae, 1989). Though this measure uses terms and traits that are not part of the DSM-IV terminology, they encompass the five main personality dimensions that have been found to comprise personality. The NEO is one of the most widely used inventories in Psychological research.

Neuroticism includes emotional tendencies such as disturbing emotions and disturbances in thoughts and actions, ability to deal with problems, negative emotions that may be expressed violently and how they deal with others. (Costa, & McCrae, 1990). Extroversion represents an individual's liveliness, activity, and their preference for social interaction (Costa, & McCrae, 1990).

Openness refers to personal factors such as receptiveness to new experiences, ability to adapt to change, willingness to learn, and curiousness (Costa, & McCrae, 1990). Agreeableness encompasses traits such as compassion, ability to trust, believing the best of others, cooperation, competitiveness, conflict avoidance, skepticism and pride (Costa, & McCrae, 1990). Conscientiousness refers to people's work ethics, and whether or not they are hard workers, achievement oriented, high in self-discipline, organized, and generally feel competent in what they do, (Costa, & McCrae, 1990).

An individual's degree of success in social relationships has consistently been shown to be relevant to delinquency, and therefore gang membership (Youniss, & Smoller, 1985). Adolescence is an especially important period of socialization, and is the time of life when individuals are striving for identity, and are therefore vulnerable to gang membership. An adolescent's peers are very influential on an individual who may have self-esteem and identity problems (Dunphy, 1969).

Gang members attachments to others were examined using Collin and Reed's Adult Attachment Scale (1990), which investigated the participants relationships with others. Attachments to family and friends, and a persons relationships with others is important in examining why they developed attachments with gangs (Loeber & Farrington, 1997).

The family environment in which an individual is reared, quite obviously affects the individual, and how that individual will develop. Familial factors are consistently shown to be involved in gang membership (Report of the Committee on Gangs, 1981; Covey, et al., 1997; Spergel, 1995 and Loeber & Farrington, 1998). Gang members generally come from families that are inadequate in caring and social instruction, social and emotional support, lack or discipline (or inconsistent discipline), deficient parenting and inadequate supervision, (Loeber & Farrington, 1998).

Because of the relevant familial factors that influence gang membership, Moos and Moos (1986) Family Environment Scale (FES), was used. The FES covers the participant's family environment. Issues such as family relationships, Personal growth and system maintenance are examined in this scale.

Self-esteem is the most consistently found factor involved in delinquency and gang involvement (Covey, et al., 1997; Duke, et al., 1997; Santrock, 1995). Not only is self-esteem a huge factor by itself, it is also effected by all the other risk factors found

in the past. For instance, adverse family conditions, personality and attachment can all be effected by self-esteem, and all those factors can adversely effect self-esteem (Covey, et al., 1997). Therefore, it was considered extremely important to include a measure of self-esteem in this study.

Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale (1965), which comprises 10 questions regarding the participant's feelings about themselves, and their self-worth, was included in this study in order to gain an idea about how gang members see themselves, and how they feel about themselves.

Education, role models and details of gang membership were also examined in this study. The scales that examined the above factors were developed specifically for this study. The Education section consisted of 14 questions that examined the participant's educational background, academic achievements, peer relationships, relationships with teachers, general feelings towards school, how they thought peers judged them, and participation in school and extra curricular activities.

Questions regarding one's academic achievements and other schooling issues were included because many researchers have found that gang members typically do very poorly at school, experience learning difficulties and have trouble with the curriculum (Loeber & Farrington, 1997; Spergel, 1995).

The next section consists of demographic questions covering personal details about ethnicity, role models, family size, sibling involvement in gangs, and cultural awareness. Yablonsky, (1997) found that many gang members have negative role models, or no role models at all, so it is important to examine what kind of role models (if any), New Zealand gang members have. Yablonsky, (1997) and Covey, et al., (1997) found that many gang members joined because they had siblings or family

members who were gang members. As such, questions regarding family participation in gangs are also included in the study.

A section covering each participant's feelings toward the gang, level and length of participation, and how old they were when they joined the gang, was also added in order to get an overall picture of their participation.

METHOD

Participants: Fourteen individuals participated in this study. They all described themselves as “Gang Members” or “Ex Gang Members”. The age at which the participants joined the gang ranged from 15 to 25, with an average age of 17.8. The participants were in the gang for an average of 9.2 years, with a range of 2 to 28 years. The gang members who took part in the study were South Island members, limiting the generalisability of the following findings.

Although I hoped to gain a large sum of participants, in order to develop a statistically significant piece of research, a number of recruitment problems were encountered during this study. I found that gang members were either very interested in doing the study, but notoriously unreliable when it came to following through with their participation, or not interested in participating at all. For many gang members, trust was a major issue. Many felt that because they did not know me, they could not trust that I would not use the information they gave me against them, in painting a negative picture of gang members. Gang members are also difficult to approach, if you are unknown to them. Due to these problems, I was unable to gather the number of participants that were needed to carry out meaningful statistical analyses. Therefore, these results can only be used to indicate a point of direction for future studies, rather than accept them as a valid final conclusion on the issues of gang membership.

The participants were categorized into either “Patch” members, or “Associates” according to their status and length of involvement. Meaning that their involvement in the gang was serious and long term, rather than short and sporadic. Patch members are the highest ranking of the gang, and are usually older members who have been in the gang for at least ten years. They have control over the gang’s financial dealings, are involved in gang policy, or rule making. Patch members are also in charge of discipline within the gang.

Associates are the next highest ranking gang members, after the “Patch” members. They are often involved in the financial dealings of the gang, and are the ones that go out and make the money. They are very socially oriented, and the gang is usually their top priority. Their lives revolve around their gang mates, and they have not yet reached the stage where the gang becomes a source of income. Associates are often in line for a “Patch”, but have to prove their loyalty and dedication to the gang, before they earn their patch.

Nine of the participants, are, or were Patch Members (those who had reached the highest ranks within the gang), and 5 of the participants were Associates (those who had not earned their “Patch”). The participants came from six of New Zealand’s most well known gangs; the Road Knights, Black Power, Mongrel Mob, Epitaph Riders, Devils Henchman, and Bandenkrieg. Of the 14 participants, two were Maori, nine were European, and three gave their ethnicity as “New Zealander”. Five of the participants were female gang members.

Materials and Procedures

The Questionnaire: Information about the “Gang Members” past was gathered through the use of a 13 page questionnaire adapted for the study (see Appendix 2).

The questionnaire looked at gang members perception of their personality, Family Environment, Attachment, Academic Achievement, Relationships, Gang Membership, and Self-esteem factors, to determine whether similarities could be found in their pasts that could be predictors of later gang involvement.

The questionnaire was made up of several different scales and self-report measures (see Appendix 3). To test personality factors that may be involved in gang membership the NEO Personality Inventory was used. The NEO Inventory, developed by Costa, and McCrae, (1985), utilizes the “Big Five” of personality; Neuroticism, Extroversion, Openness, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness. These five factors

have been shown to encompass personality, as the NEO has consistently shown measures of personality almost identical to every other personality inventory developed in the past (Costa, & McCrae, 1990). Analysis has shown that the “Big Five” was found in Guilford-Zimmerman’s Temperament Survey (GZTS), Eysenck’s Personality Questionnaire (EPQ), the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) and many others, (McCrae, 1989).

The NEO Personality Inventory, uses a likert scale to identify how a respondent feels about particular statements. Each item is answered with a 1-5 scale that includes *Strongly Disagree*, *Disagree*, *neutral*, *agree*, and *strongly agree*. The responses are analysed into the five domains to yield scores for each of the “Big Five”. Data can be analyzed according to how most people rate for each dimension (Costa, & McCrae, 1990). A respondent who scores higher than three-quarters of the normative sample in the agreeableness dimension, for example, is considered compassionate, trusting, believing the best of others, eager to cooperate and avoid conflict. Someone low in these scores would be considered skeptical, proud, tough-minded and competitive, (Costa, & McCrae, 1990).

The tendency of the respondent to experience disturbing emotions and disturbances in thoughts and actions are represented in the Neuroticism dimension (Costa, & McCrae, 1990). Those who score high in the Neuroticism category find it difficult to deal with problems and get along with others, due to their propensity to experience negative emotions that may be expressed violently. Extroversion represents an individual’s liveliness, activity, and their preference for social interaction (Costa, & McCrae, 1990). How well a person gets on with others, is evident in scores from this dimension.

Openness refers to a person’s receptiveness to new experiences, their ability to adapt to change, their willingness to learn, and their curiousness (Costa, & McCrae,

1990). Conscientiousness people are hard workers, achievement oriented, high in self-discipline, organized, and generally feel competent in what they do, (Costa, & McCrae, 1990). The NEO is a really comprehensive personality inventory, which encompasses the conception of personality in the five factors, and is therefore appropriate for this study.

Because attachment to others is relevant to delinquency and gang membership, Collin and Reed's adult attachment scale was adapted for use as a measure of a person's relationship style. Collin and Reed's (1990) scale measures secure, anxious and avoidant relationship styles. Attachment styles may be the most important aspect of gang membership and delinquency, in that, early social relationships and attachments are inextricably linked with social, emotional and personality development in later life. Deviant attachments could therefore be a risk factor related to gang involvement (Collins, & Reed, 1990).

Collins and Reed's (1990) adult attachment scale consists of 15 items that examine the three dimensions of attachment style named above. There are 5 statements for each dimension. Collins and Reed, (1990) found that those who score high on the secure questions are comfortable with closeness, able to depend on others for comfort and support, are not worried about being abandoned by those they love, and are not worried about being unloved by others. Those who score high on the avoidant statements are uncomfortable with intimacy, do not feel confident depending on others, and are not worried about being abandoned. High scorers on the anxious statements are confident depending on others but are still very concerned with being abandoned and unloved.

To examine participants' relationships with family members, and to examine familial factors that are important in positive development, the FES, Family Environment Scale was used in this study. The FES was developed by Rudolf and

Bernice Moos, (1986). The FES examines ten sub-scales of family environment. These are Cohesion, Expressiveness, Conflict, Independence, Achievement Orientation, Intellectual-Cultural Orientation, Active-Recreational Orientation, Moral-Religious Emphasis, Organization and Control.

The FES is very simple to fill out, as participants need only to tick the statements that are true for them, and leave blank the statements that are false. There are 90 questions in the FES covering 10 sub-scales and 3 different dimensions of family environment. Scores are pooled into each sub-scale, and analyzed separately, rather than an overall score of family environment.

The sub-scales that will be most relevant to gang membership are Cohesion, Conflict, Control and Independence, (Moos & Moos, 1986). Cohesion refers to the degree of commitment, help, and support family members provide for one another. The conflict sub-scale describes the amount of hostility, openly expressed anger, aggression, and conflict among family members. The control sub-scale refers to the extent to which rules and procedures are used to rule the family. Independence refers to the extent to which family members are assertiveness, are self-sufficient, and makes their own decisions (Moos & Moos, 1986).

Moos & Moos, (1986), tested the FES on many different kinds of families, and they found that families with delinquent or disturbed adolescents were less socially connected, had poorer relationships and scored very low in cohesion. They also found that independence was low, and conflict and control were generally high. As such, gang members could be expected to also have high levels of control and conflict, and low levels of cohesiveness and independence. Families of delinquents generally seem to emphasize strict rules and rigid discipline as a way of coping with their child's delinquent behaviour (Moos & Moos, 1986).

Many studies have shown that delinquents and gang members are more likely to come from abusive homes than non-delinquents. Moos & Moos, (1986) found that abusive family environments reported high conflict, and low cohesion and expressiveness, as well as low scores in intellectual, recreational and religious orientation. Because Moos & Moos, (1986) developed their scale by analyzing many different families rather than a dominant norm, this scale is a relevant representation of family issues involved in gang membership.

Because self-esteem issues have been implicated in delinquency and gang membership, a scale of self-esteem was included. Rosenberg's self-esteem scale was selected for this study because it is fairly reliable, if not a little small. Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale only has ten questions, but these questions have been found to measure self-esteem reliably. This scale has been tested for test/retest reliability, internal consistency and validity, and was found to be a satisfactory measure, (Rosenberg, 1965). Each item on this scale has to be answered using a four point likert scale, that consists of the following responses, *Strongly Agree*, *Agree*, *Disagree*, and *Strongly Disagree*.

Past research has found that low educational attainment, lack of role models (or negative ones), lack of cultural identity and pride, problems with early social development and ethnicity, can all be predictors of later gang involvement. Consequently, a number of Ad Hoc sections have been added to the questionnaire, relating to these variables.

The Schooling section examines the participants academic achievements, study habits, extra-curricular activities, relationships with peers and teachers, responsibilities at school, peer pressure, feelings of acceptance, and misbehaviour at school. Klein, (1971), has found that school, as a socializing structure, may have an impact on later

delinquency and therefore, this section examines whether or not school related issues have encouraged or caused the child to get involved in a gang.

The sixth scale looks at ethnicity, cultural pride, family structure (i.e., how many siblings) and role models. Social Learning Theory, developed by Bandura, (1977), examines how modeling of parents or siblings behaviour can cause a person to learn and take on negative characteristics. Having a sibling or other family member in a gang, is a strong predictor of gang involvement (Covey, et al., 1997), therefore participant's were questioned about familial gang membership, and negative role models

RESULTS

The results for each of the NEO Personality Inventory, Adult Attachment Scale, Family Environment Scale, Self-Esteem Scale, and Demographic measures were analyzed and graphed on Table 1. A series of *t* test analyses were carried out in order to examine the differences between Patch and Associate gang members for each of the measures and subscales.

Demographic measures of Age and Socioeconomic Status were analyzed, but only Age indicated significant differences between the two participant groups (see Table 1). The mean age for Patch members was 45.3, and the mean age for Associate members was 28.8, indicating a significant difference between their ages, ($p < .01$). This fits with previous findings (Patton, 1998), but the difficulty here, is that some of the participants, especially the older ones, were ex gang members, not current gang members. Therefore this age finding is generally not significant. However, age is still correlated strongly with member status. Patch members *are* older than Associates.

The NEO personality Inventory indicated differences between Patch and Associate gang members on levels of Neuroticism, and Conscientiousness. Associate members were found to be more neurotic than Patch members with means of 27.0, and 18.2 respectively, ($p < .05$) indicating that Associate gang members feel less secure and safe in the gang than Patch members. For levels of Conscientiousness Patch members were shown to be more conscientious than Associate members, ($p < .01$), with means of 27.3 and 19.4 respectively, indicating that Patch members have developed a work ethic within the gang due to their financial goals, and responsibilities.

Table 1

Mean scores of the Patch and Associate members on demographic measures, NEO personality factors, Attachment Scale, Family Environment Scale, and Self-Esteem Scale.

Participant Group			
	Patch Members	Associate Members	t value (df)
Age	45.3	28.8	5.19 (12)**
SES ¹	5.2	6.0	ns
NEO Personality Factors ²			
Neuroticism	18.2	27.0	-2.31 (12)*
Extroversion	30.0	27.7	ns
Openness	15.4	14.4	ns
Agreeableness	24.7	24.4	ns
Conscientiousness	27.3	19.4	3.66 (12)**
Attachment Scale ³			
Anxious-Ambivalent	7.8	8.6	ns
Secure Attachment	20.2	19.0	ns
Avoidant Attachment	16.8	18.0	ns
Family Environment Scale ⁴			
Cohesion	32.4	26.4	ns
Expressiveness	35.7	47.0	ns
Conflict	59.1	64.6	ns
Independence	37.3	44.6	ns
Achievement Orientation	43.0	38.4	ns
Intellectual-Cultural	40.6	36.0	ns
Active-Recreational	45.1	43.6	ns
Moral-Religious	42.7	34.0	ns
Organization	47.8	35.8	ns
Control	55.0	51.6	ns
Self-Esteem Scale ⁵	33.9	31.2	ns

1 These scores range from 1-7 with lower numbers indicating higher socioeconomic status.
2 These scores range from 12-60 with higher numbers indicating greater levels of each personality factor present in the individual.
3 These scores range from 3-26 with high numbers indicating greater levels of that type of attachment.
4 These scores range from 1-81 with high numbers indicating high levels of each factor in the individuals family environment.
5 These scores range from 23-40 with high numbers indicating high self-esteem.
* p<.05 **p<.01

For the Adult Attachment Scale, Self-Esteem Scale and the Family Environment Scale, no significant differences were found between Patch and Associate gang members.

Table 2, (see page 56) presents the mean scores for Patch and Associate gang members on Ad Hoc measures of Schooling, Family Composition, and Details of Gang Membership. These data were also analyzed using a series of *t* tests. For Family Composition, Patch and Associate gang members differ on the number of siblings they have in the gang. Associate gang members have more siblings in the gang, than Patch members ($p<.01$). Possible reasons for this difference will be discussed in the discussion.

The details of Gang Membership section indicate that Patch and Associate gang members differ on levels of Happiness within the gang, and feelings of Self-Esteem within the gang. Patch members were found to be happier within the gang than Associate gang members, with respective means of 3.6 and 2.0, ($p<.05$). Patch members also felt that the gang provided them with higher feelings of self-esteem than Associate members, ($p<.01$). On measures of schooling there were no significant differences between Patch and Associate gang members.

The measures that indicated significant differences between Patch and Associate members were analyzed for correlation's between, other factors and measures, used in the study to determine patterns of relationships. The results of the correlational analysis are presented in Table 3 (see page 55). For Conscientiousness a number of factors were found to be correlated. Patch member levels of conscientiousness were related to their feelings of self-esteem, and Anxious attachment.

Patch members are higher in conscientiousness, the less anxiously attached they are in adult relationships, ($p<.05$) indicated by a negative correlation between the two factors.

Table 2

Mean scores of the Patch and Associate members on ad hoc measures of Family Composition
Schooling, and Details of Gang Membership.

	Participant Group		
	Patch Members	Associate Members	t value (df)
<u>Family Composition</u>			
Number of siblings	2.8	3.6	ns
Number of Siblings in Gang	0.1	1.0	-3.25(12)**
Had Role Model 1	1.5	1.4	ns
Role model Positive/Negative 2	3.0	4.5	ns
<u>Details of Gang Membership</u>			
Age joined Gang	17.7	17.8	ns
Number of years in Gang	11.5	6.7	ns
Hours spent with Gang	75	59.3	ns
Happiness with Gang 3	3.6	2.0	2.65(11)*
Would join gang again 3	3.2	3.8	ns
Would promote others to join 3	2.2	1.6	ns
Feel safe within Gang 3	3.0	3.0	ns
Self-esteem in Gang 3	3.1	2.0	2.62(12)*
Favour Gang over Real Family 3	3.3	3.0	ns
<u>Schooling</u>			
Academic Achievement 4	3.0	3.2	ns
Number of friends 5	2.3	2.8	ns
Had Best friend at school 6	1.9	1.8	ns
Accepted by Peers 5	2.3	2.6	ns
Had Teachers to confide in 5	1.8	2.6	ns
Got into trouble at school 5	2.5	3.0	ns
Type of person at school 7	3.9	3.8	ns
Peer Pressure (Susceptibility) 5	2.6	2.8	ns
Parents encouraged homework 8	3.0	2.4	ns
Actively involved in sports 5	2.4	2.8	ns
Given Responsibilities 8	3.0	3.0	ns
Achieved Qualifications 9	2.0	2.5	ns
School leaving age	15.4	15.4	ns
Joined gang in school? 5	2.7	2.2	ns

1 - These scores range from 1 being yes, and 2 being no.

2 - These scores range from 1 - very negative role model, to 5 - very positive role model.

3 - These scores range from 1 - Strongly Disagree to 5 - Strongly Agree.

4 - Scores range from 1 - Very Good to 5 - Very Poor.

5 - These scores range from 1 - Strongly Disagree to 4 - Strongly Agree. *<.05, **<.01

6 - These scores range from 1 - Disagree and 2 - Agree

7 - 1 = Cool, 2 = Geek, 3 = Outsider, 4 = Freak, 5 = An average Kid

8 - Scores range from 1 - Strongly Disagree to 5 - Strongly Agree

9 - 1 = School Cert, 2 = 6th form Cert, 3 = Bursary, 4 = Polytech Diploma, 5 = University Degree.

Table 3

Correlations between Patch and Associate gang Member levels of Neuroticism, Conscientiousness, and Happiness and Self-Esteem in Gang.

NEUROTICISM			
PATCH		ASSOCIATE	
Gang Vs Family	.68 *	Best Friends	-.89 *
		Sports	-.89 *
CONSCIENTIOUSNESS			
PATCH		ASSOCIATE	
Anxious Attachment	-.73 *	Secure Attachment	.88 *
Self-Esteem	.78 *		
HAPPINESS IN GANG			
PATCH		ASSOCIATE	
Achievement Orientation	-.68 *	no significant	
Trouble at School	.73 *	correlations	
SELF-ESTEEM IN GANG			
PATCH		ASSOCIATE	
Secure Attachment	.87 **	Agreeableness	-.98 **
Control	.68 *	Anxious Attachment	.95 *
		Avoidant Attachment	.89 *

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Non significant correlation's are admitted for clarity of presentation.

Conscientiousness is raised with higher levels of self-esteem ($p < .05$), as indicated by a positive correlation. Associate levels of conscientiousness, which are generally lower than Patch members, however, is only effected by their levels of secure attachment. Associates with secure attachments are higher in conscientiousness ($p < .05$). For both gang member types there seems to be a relationship between personality factors like conscientiousness, and styles of attachment. Though the attachment styles that relate to conscientiousness are different for Patch and Associate members, attachment styles seem to be a significant determinant on levels of conscientiousness.

Patch members feelings of happiness within the gang are related to levels of achievement orientation and the amount of trouble they got into at school. Patch members who are achievement oriented, that is, they are oriented towards achieving goals and are competitive, are less happy in the gang. This is indicated by a negative correlation, (see Table 3). Surprisingly, the more trouble that a gang member got into at school, the happier they are in the gang (see Table 3). Associate member levels of happiness are not affected by any other factors.

Findings indicate that levels of neuroticism for Patch members are higher, the more they feel that they are closer to the gang than their own family. Patch members are more neurotic if they are not close to their biological family. Associate levels of neuroticism are negatively correlated with having a best friend growing up, and being involved in sporting and extra-curricular activities (see Table 3). This indicates that Associate members are less neurotic the more involved they are in social activities. There is a cause and effect relationship, whereby neuroticism is lessened or increased according to members involvement with social groups and close friends.

The results of this study show quite clearly the relationship that self-esteem has with personality and familial factors. An individual's feelings of self-esteem are incredibly important to their personal development. For Patch members, self-esteem within the gang, is affected by their levels of Secure attachment, as well as the levels of control in their family upbringing. These correlation's are positive, therefore, the more control in the Patch members family, and the more securely attached they are in adult relationships, the more self-esteem they feel within the gang(see Table 3).

This is different for Associate members. Associate members feelings of self-esteem in the gang are affected by their agreeableness, and their attachment styles. The association between Agreeableness and self-esteem is a negative one, therefore, the more agreeable they are, the lower their self-esteem within the gang, and the higher the

self-esteem in the gang, the less agreeable they are (see Table 3). Associate members who have Anxious or avoidant relationship styles feel high self-esteem in the gang, indicated by a positive correlation for the two factors. As can be seen, attachment styles are significantly related to levels of self-esteem in the gang, and those attachment styles are different for Patch and Associate members.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study, though interesting, are lacking in statistical significance as recruitment problems made it impossible to gather the number of participants needed to make the study powerful, and reliable. Findings from this study can not be generalized to all New Zealand gang members, as there were not enough participants to make generalizations possible. Though 46 gang members originally agreed to take part in the study, only 14 followed through on their intentions. Many gang members either changed their minds, or for various reasons found that they were wary about giving the personal information that was needed to gain a full understanding, to someone not involved in the gang.

Fourteen gang members is not a representative sample, therefore the recruitment problems will have negatively affected the conclusions found in this study. However, the information contained in this document may help the reader to gain a better understanding of gangs, and gang members, and also provide possible paths for future research.

Ethnicity was found not to be significant as only two participants were not European. As most past studies have shown ethnicity to be a strong influence on gang membership, this study would have profited by having more Minority group members as participants. However, due to the fact that past studies have found that minority group members are more numerous within gangs, perhaps it would be interesting to

study European gang members in New Zealand as a minority group themselves, in relation to gangs.

NEUROTICISM

Associate gang members score much higher than Patch members on levels of neuroticism, (see Table 1). The mean level of neuroticism for associates was 27, while the mean for Patch members was 18.2. According to Costa and McCrae, (1985), 27 is higher than the norm for neuroticism. Associates may be more neurotic and anxious because they are newcomers to the gang, and their position is not yet stable and secure. Their feelings of anxiety could also have contributed to their need to join the gang, in order to find stable and secure relationships outside of their families. Patch members, having been in the gang a long time, feel stable and secure, and therefore, less neurotic.

For Patch members, neuroticism is affected by their feelings of attachment towards the gang, as opposed to their attachment to their families. Patch members who feel closer and more connected to the gang, than their real family, scored higher on levels of neuroticism. The association between neuroticism and closeness to the gang could be explained by their unfavorable relationships with their family members. Characteristics of high scorers in neuroticism are, worrying, hot-tempered, hopeless, ashamed, feels inferior, and unable to deal with stress (Costa and McCrae, 1991). These feelings could push them towards the gang, and also make the gang seem more positive for them. If they have been made to feel useless or inferior by their family members, then the gang, who are loyal and accepting of all, would be a calming and secure place to be.

The relationship between neuroticism and attachment towards the gang, is another example of how attachment and personality are strongly related to each other. Neuroticism is a personality trait that would greatly affect how one interacts with others,

as well as effecting the strength of their relationships. There are many things that could make a person neurotic, and though the emotional baggage that contributes to Patch members feelings of neuroticism are not known, one could speculate based on past research.

A lot of the research that has been done on gang membership, and gangs, has emphasized the large amount of gang youths who come from distressed and violent families (Gullotta & Adams, 1998). The rule rather than the exception seems to indicate that family conflict and assault, as well as high levels of family change and low family cohesion (Evans & Mason, (1996), seem to be evident in the backgrounds of many gang members. Consequently, growing up in such a negative environment may contribute to one's neuroticism. Dealing with these kind of negative stressors would cause a lot of anxiety within the individual. The gang, therefore, may be an environment that safeguards its members from those stressors.

That is not to say that violence does not exist within gangs, because it certainly does, however, the violence is usually directed outwards towards rival gangs, and the individual would not be left alone to cope with the violence. The knowledge that the individual is backed up by a large group of friends whose job it is to protect each other, would go a long way in lessening one's feelings of anxiety. For someone whose family induces neurotic feelings, the gang would be a safe a secure place to be.

Also those Patch members who are neurotic may have joined the gang specifically for protection rather than just discovering it once they have joined. Their purpose in joining may have been to protect them not just from family members, but bullies at school, or people in the neighbourhood that pose a threat to them. But whether or not individuals joined the gang because of a fear for their safety, the gang is a trusted network of friends who look out for one another. Therefore, they would feel

less anxious and fearful within the protective folds of the gang, thus adding to their stronger feelings of closeness to the gang, rather than their families.

Associate levels of neuroticism are influenced by the social network and the attachments that they form with best friends and team members (sports). Associates feel less neuroticism or anxiety when they have a best friend that they can rely on. Having friends is extremely important in developing our ability to cope with daily stress and maintain low levels of anxiety (Townsend, 1992). Friends support us, make us feel secure and take away our anxiety by giving us someone who can stand by us when we are feeling anxious. Close friendships give people a sense of validation, that they are worthy of love and caring (Levine, 1999). Friendships also provide encouragement and support, needs that are essential in developing a healthy self-concept. Anxiety and neuroticism are lessened under these positive conditions.

Another aspect of friendship, that can lower levels of neuroticism is the self acceptance that comes with friendship. Rubin and Ross (1982), believe that the value of friendship on peoples feelings of self acceptance are vital in developing a healthy psychological and emotional personality. Friends make us feel good, they make us feel safe from the macro-social influences that concern us. With close friends, people do not have to worry about whether they are liked, and instead they can be themselves, which is a difficult thing to do when surrounded by social pressures that make us feel we have to conform, in order to be accepted. As such, neuroticism is not just lessened within friendships for gang members, but for all of us.

Through playing sport individuals are accepted into another fold of friendship that encourages social connections and an affinity with those who hold similar interests than themselves. The more connected individuals feel to other people and the more in common they have with them, the less anxiety they feel. Through social relationships neuroticism is lessened, whereas, if an individual had no friends or individuals that he

felt close to in any way, then he would feel neurotic and unsure of his worth. Through friends and social groups, people can share their problems and deal with stress with the help of the group. In a word, they are not alone in their hopelessness.

For Associate gang members their involvement in gangs could have stemmed from feelings of anxiety, that they had discovered, a gang or group could reduce. The group, team, or gang, seemingly offers the alienated individual an antidote to their melancholy (Levine, 1999). Levine, (1999) believes that these groups provide their members with a sense of “*being* - they feel intrinsically better, more worthwhile, more esteemed, and more fulfilled; *belonging* - they feel that they are an integral member of a group, a community, of respected, caring, like-minded individuals; *believing* - they feel that they have an important meaning to their lives beyond subsistence and materialism; and *benevolence* - they feel that they are contributing to the betterment and the well-being of their fellow human beings” (Levine, 1999, pp.343).

As in almost everything that has been found so far, attachment, whether it be styles of attachment, or attachments to friends and the gang, is a significant factor in almost every element of gang membership. Personality also plays a significant role, indicating that the greatest predictor of gang involvement for both Patch and Associate members is their attachments to others and the way their personality effects those attachments.

CONSCIENTIOUSNESS

As can be seen from Table 1, Patch and Associate members differ in levels of conscientiousness with Patch members being more conscientious than Associate members. This difference could be due to the fact that Patch members have been in the gang for longer, and have achieved more success as a member than Associates. Patch members are also older and more mature than associate members, and with age

comes responsibilities and attainment of long held goals. The more people achieve success the more conscientious they become, as they feel comfortable that they can succeed in their domain (Santrock, 1995). Patch members are given more responsibility, and are valued more for their contributions, which could heighten levels of conscientiousness.

Young Associate members are just having fun. Like any other teenager or young adult, their lives are focused on enjoying themselves and their experiences. They have yet to acquire responsibilities beyond looking after themselves, and may still live at home and have others to look after them. The young carefree lifestyle frees them up to enjoy a freedom from financial or career responsibilities. Associates involvement with the gang is more along the lines of a pastime, which allows them to avoid making decisions about their future, or set career goals and expectations.

Many Patch members, however, have children, wives and mortgages that must be paid. For them, the gang has evolved into a business enterprise. Their role within the gang also holds more responsibility, which requires a certain amount of conscientiousness in order to succeed as a gang member, and retain their position. Conscientiousness is a trait that is learned over time, through experiences with the outside world, which teach us that to attain goals, or to succeed in anything, we must work hard.

New Zealand Patch members, who make a living from the gang, have specific jobs that they are responsible for, jobs that they conscientiously attend to, for the survival of their gang. The associates however, do not have such responsibilities. The gang for them, supplies them with social activities and camaraderie. Activities that do not call for a conscientious work ethic. Later, as they move up in status, conscientiousness will become a factor for them.

For Patch members, there are two significant factors in this study that are related to levels of conscientiousness; anxious attachment, and self-esteem. Self-esteem and conscientiousness interacts in ways which enhance each of the personality traits. Self-esteem comes from conscientiously working hard towards goals that are important to the individual, goals that are attainable through hard work and endurance, and conscientiousness enhances one's feelings of self-worth by showing them that their efforts are valuable.

There are many facets to self-esteem, and many areas of one's abilities or accomplishments that can strengthen one's image of themselves. According to Maslow (1970), a significant contributor to one's feelings of self-esteem is their belief in their importance. If a person is made to feel important, whether it be in their job or in their relationships, their image of themselves is enhanced. Often we may know subconsciously that we are worthy and important contributors to those around us, but people need others to acknowledge their hard work or their effort. We all need to be positively reinforced from time to time, as respect and esteem from others, is a salient demonstration of one's own feelings of worth.

Within a gang, each person plays a supportive role for another. Many of the older Patch members take the young Associates under their wing and encourage their accomplishments. The longer one spends in such a supportive atmosphere, the more they will come to believe in themselves. Gang members, like everyone else in society, will work harder and do better if they are good at what they do. Once a certain amount of expertise is developed, even if that expertise is the growing of Marijuana, one is encouraged in their pursuit, and conscientiousness will be enhanced. As the younger members are not yet given responsibilities such as growing or distributing drugs, the Patch members are more conscientious than they are.

Almost all of the gang members in this study come from working gangs, where the enterprise of making money is the main objective. As one gang member stated “I am a businessman, I work in supply and demand” (Anonymous Communication, 2000). The selling of drugs by New Zealand gangs is considered the worst aspect about them. Yes, selling drugs is illegal, and it certainly does not positively contribute to our society. However, one veteran gang member put their drug trade into a perspective by telling me, that even before they began to sell drugs in their gang, they already had a bad reputation. Even when all they were doing was hanging out with their “mates”, drinking and laughing, society already looked upon them as “scum”. Drugs were already readily available, so their belief was, if New Zealanders are going to buy drugs, we may as well profit from that. New Zealanders demand a product, the gangs supply that product. “if they are already going to hate us, we may as well give them a reason to” (Anonymous Communication, 2000).

A business enterprise like growing, preparing, and selling drugs, is a large enterprise. Much is involved in the trade, and many hard working people are employed within it. Like the rest of society, for a business to succeed, there must be people who are willing to put in the effort. And these days, gangs are big business. They are successful at what they do. That success can be attributed to the many conscientious Patch members who play a vital role.

In the introduction to this thesis I touched upon the structural hierarchy of working gangs. Within this structure there are expectations for each level of gang member. The Patch members are expected to contribute to the gangs business, and no effort or contribution on their part would mean they would not have earned the recognition of their peers by earning a Patch jacket. I would go so far as to say conscientiousness is a vital element in becoming a Patch member. The recognition and respect that comes with earning one’s “Patch” through hard work and diligence, would be a large contributor to one’s feelings of self-worth, and esteem. Self confidence

comes from business success, even if that business is frowned upon by society. Patch members get their self-esteem from the gang, not from society.

Another significant factor that is related to Patch members levels of conscientiousness, is anxious attachment. The correlation between conscientiousness and anxious attachment is a negative one (see Table 3), therefore, the more conscientious that Patch members are, the less anxious attachment they feel.

In regards to the gang, conscientiously contributing to the gang, may help them to become less anxious because they are valued for their contributions, and have gained respect and authority. Once a Patch member has proven his skills and dominance in certain aspects of gang business, he may feel that his place in the gang is secure. He would no longer feel anxious about his worth, or worry that he is not loved or accepted.

Patch members are basically Associate members who have earned a promotion to Patch member. Once they have earned their "Patch" they would feel more 'job security' and status than Associates. By earning the status of Patch member through their conscientious effort they know that they have become a vital 'employee' of the gang. Just like the rest of society, promotions give people a sense of job security, safety and recognition. If someone has been promoted they are less likely to worry that their 'job' is precarious, or feel anxious and insecure.

Because the correlation between conscientiousness and anxious attachment is a negative one, Patch members who are less conscientious feel more anxious in their attachment to the gang. They may feel that they have little to offer the gang, and have no skills that they could contribute. Because their contribution is lacking, they may feel that their place in the gang is not secure, that they are a dead weight, who could be dismissed from the gang at any time. Whether or not their expulsion from the gang is a

a possibility, without feeling that they make a difference or are needed in any way, their sense of purpose in the gang is absent.

If one's position in the gang is not a vital position, or their lack of contribution could be fulfilled by another gang member, their sense of security would be low. Feeling that one is replaceable, would make even the most self confident person anxious. Their feeling of attachment to the gang, would be weakened by their lack of conscientiousness.

Associate gang members, as can be seen on Table 3, are generally less conscientious than Patch members, and their levels of conscientiousness are not related to anxious attachment or self-esteem. However, Associate levels of conscientiousness are related to their secure attachment style. Those Associates who feel more securely attached to the gang, are more conscientious than those who are not. This finding is not unlike the previous finding that indicated that, not only is ones attachment style related to their levels of conscientiousness, but also that the more securely attached one is to the gang, the more conscientious he/she is. Patch members are more conscientious the less anxiously attached they are to the gang (in other words, more securely attached), and associates are more conscientious the more securely attached they are. Perhaps for the same reasons.

To use another 'business like' example, when a person puts in a lot of effort, whether it be working hard writing a thesis, or trying to sell more drugs than the next person, they are less likely to want to walk away from that, than if they put no effort in at all. Conscientiousness encourages us to treat our projects like our babies, not wanting to entrust others to do the work we are doing. When one knows that they have worked hard for something, then they feel that their efforts will be recognized. Like I believe that my efforts writing this thesis will eventually reward me with a Masters degree, an Associate member who has worked hard to prove themselves to the gang,

will eventually be rewarded with a "Patch", a promotion. Working hard usually leads to success, therefore with success comes a certain amount of security. A feeling of attachment to one's career path. It is not difficult to surmise that no effort, leads to failure, which would not make a person feel secure about their position.

HAPPINESS IN THE GANG

Happiness refers to the participants' feelings of happiness and contentment within the gang. Patch members were found to be feel happier within the gang than Associate members, $p < .05$. This could be because Patch members are given more respect, more financial stability, have formed close relationships with their "brothers", and have achieved status within the gang. Associates, however, have not yet proved themselves, and have not been in the gang long enough to gain status or respect, or to form the fulfilling relationships that contribute to a persons well-being and happiness.

Two factors were found to be associated with Patch members feelings of happiness within the gang. Getting into trouble at school, and achievement orientation. For Patch members a predictor of their later feelings of happiness within the gang was positively correlated with the amount of trouble they got into at school. The more trouble a gang member got into at school, the happier they feel within the gang. Perhaps behavioural problems and lack of respect for authority which would contribute to school disciplinary problems, makes gang membership appealing for these youngsters. The more trouble they get into, the more they could feel that legitimate successes were not for them. They may have been told by teachers that they would not amount to anything, making gang membership the only perceived avenue to success.

In the larger society, getting into trouble is frowned upon, but in the gang, elements of trouble such as being a good fighter or having no respect for authority may be seen as valuable abilities, or respected attitudes. Gang members in general do not

have much respect for authority figures such as the police, or parents, therefore, someone who holds the same attitudes and ideals as themselves, will be accepted as a friend and kinsman. Being a good fighter may be a skill greatly valued within the sometimes hostile environment of gang life.

There are some gangs who only accept members who can hold their own in a brawl, or remain standing after being beaten by other members. Though the scenes in movies such as "Once were Warriors" are sometimes greatly exaggerated, gangs in the North Island of New Zealand have been known to use one's ability to fight as an initiation right. This does not seem to be a common practice in South Island gangs (Anonymous Communication, 2000). When one is looked up to because of their ability to fight, and respected for their aggression, their feelings of happiness would increase. As these people are only respected within the gang for such negative behaviour, happiness in the gang may be the only happiness these gang members could find.

When one thinks of getting into trouble at school, one assumes that desire for achievement is not of importance to these delinquent individuals. However, it was discovered that achievement orientation was also a significant influence on the Patch members feelings of happiness within the gang. This correlation was negative, therefore, the higher the achievement orientation, the lower the happiness in the gang, which indicates that gang members are happier, the less achievement oriented they are.

Moos and Moos, (1986), describe Achievement Orientation as "The extent to which activities (such as school and work) are cast into an achievement-oriented or competitive framework." Perhaps knowledge gains respect within the gang, but an admittance of valuing education or career achievement may be regarded negatively by other gang members. To avoid being seen as a "geek" or different from other gang members, individuals may hide their achievement orientation, or feel ashamed of their contradictory values.

Associates who are achievement oriented may also feel that their abilities are wasted within the gang, which would contribute to feelings of unhappiness. Perhaps they realize that they could have done so much more with their lives, and they have mistakenly chosen failure (in the eyes of society) instead. Knowing that they are capable of more, but having wasted that capability, is a depressing acknowledgment. On the other hand, Patch members low in achievement orientation would feel perfectly content within the gang, and have no misgivings about having made the wrong choice. For them, joining a gang may have been the best option for them, their only avenue of success. Associates happiness is not affected by the above factors, with no correlation's at all between happiness and achievement orientation, or trouble at school, suggesting that one cannot use predictive information for all gang members.

SELF-ESTEEM DIFFERENCES

Patch, gang members, were found to have higher self-esteem within the gang than associate members, $p < .05$. The longer a person is involved in something, whether it be a gang, or a career with the same company, the higher an individual's self-esteem. This is because experience, in anything, leads a person to feel better about their abilities as they become competent and wiser. The gang obviously values their abilities, or friendship, otherwise they would not still be in the gang. Older members are also higher in the ranks and feel more secure about their place in the gang. Older members have been in the gang long enough to feel that they are competent in their role, and have a family that cares about them. Younger members, are often new to the gang, and have yet to secure themselves a role, or establish the positive relationships with other members, that fulfill self-esteem needs. Perhaps they do not feel that they are fully accepted by the other members yet.

In a gang situation, where many gang activities are social in nature, the acceptance that one gains over time, can do much for one's self-esteem. Maslow's

(1970) theory of needs emphasized the importance of such things as Security, Stability, structure, belongingness, acceptance, desire for reputation, and status. All of these needs are met by long term gang involvement. To gain status in the gang, an individual usually has to have been in the gang for quite a few years. As such, Patch members are older than associates, and their worth has been proven. As they gain in status and age, their financial needs are also met by the gang. For many men, self-worth can be directly related to how much they earn (Santrock, 1995), therefore, with status, comes money, and with money, comes higher self-esteem.

Associates, on the other hand, are lower level gang members who have yet to gain the respect, prestige or status that they crave. They have lower self-esteem because they are not yet fully accepted as a part of the gang. These individuals may feel that they do not completely belong to the gang, and they may also feel no belongingness to their family. With belongingness needs not successfully met, they may feel dissociated from others, and lack self-esteem. They are desperate to fit in somewhere, so they put all their energy in to proving to the gang how valuable they are. Once they have been in the gang for a few years, their feelings of belonging, and acceptance will increase, and also their self-esteem.

Though Patch members have higher self-esteem than associates, there are a number of factors that relate to self-esteem for both groups of gang members. Differences were also found between each gang members type for what factors contributed to levels of self-esteem. For Patch members, correlation's were found between feelings of self-esteem within the gang, and Secure Attachment and Control.

Patch members were found to have higher self-esteem within the gang, if they had secure attachment styles in close relationships, ($p < .01$). For most of us, the attachment styles that we have, are sustained throughout our lives (Collins & Read, 1990). Research in the area of childhood attachment have found that the relationship's

that individual's form with their caregiver's makes a profound impression on the child's personality, and emotional development (Bowlby, 1973).

Through parent child relationships, the child develops beliefs and expectations that are carried through to adulthood, and these beliefs determine how they will interact with others in later life, (Collins & Read, 1990). Therefore, if an individual is securely attached to family members, and friends at a young age, they probably feel securely attached in close relationships as they get older. Patch members feel secure in their relationships with other gang members. The 'Secure' attachment style includes being comfortable with closeness, and feeling that they can depend on others. This secure attachment to fellow gang members contributes to their higher feelings of self-esteem.

Another factor that relates to Patch members' feelings of self-esteem in the gang, is the amount of control in the members' family (set rules and procedures used to control the family). Very little research has been done into familial control, and the effects that control has on issues such as self-esteem. However, Moos and Moos, (1986) found that levels of control in the family increased remarkably with family size. Control increased twofold in six member families compared to two member families. As such, higher levels of control in Patch members families may be accounted for by family size.

The relevance of family size and control on levels of self-esteem in the gang could be attributed to the fact that Patch members may feel more comfortable with being around large groups (family/gang) of people, because they come from large families. If an individual grows up in a large family they would have become accustomed to relating to many different people, and learned the kind of social skills that would help them fit into the gang. The closeness with others that comes from growing up in a large family, transcends their biological family to include their friendships among large family like groups. In this sense, the gang takes on the

appearance of family, which could encourage feelings of belongingness and self-esteem.

High levels of control is also the hallmark for a distressed family. Patch members who come from distressed families where conflict is high may feel more self-esteem in the gang than they do their real families, because there is little conflict within their gang family. Instead conflict with others is directed outside of the gang to rivals, and "out-groups." Social identity theory postulates that once an individual forms a strong identity with a group, those not in the group, turn into "them" against "us" (LeVine & Campbell, 1972), which could also account for the difficulties in recruitment for this study.

Higher levels of control in the family may also increase a person's self-esteem in the gang because they have rebelled against the tight constraints of family, and gained a freedom from regulation within the gang. Though gangs do have rules and regulations, they are rudimentary and designed to keep things running smoothly and avoid conflict among members. Families of delinquent or uncontrollable youth have developed control as a coping mechanism for the disruptive behaviour of their child. The families may introduce strict discipline and control as a way of ceasing the delinquent behaviour, when research has shown that an emphasis on cohesion and expressiveness is a more adaptive approach (Moos & Moos, 1986).

That is not to say that a certain amount of control is not necessary for the organization of the family, as rules and regulations are essential in maintaining discipline. Control can also lessen a family's likelihood of experiencing such problems (Moos & Moos, 1986). Instead, what should be realized is that too much control is maladaptive, and could lead adolescents to find freedom from that control in other places such as gangs.

For associate gang members, there are no significant correlations between self-esteem and secure attachments and control, which shows the significant differences between the two groups. Associate's self-esteem in the gang, however, is related to factors of agreeableness, and anxious and avoidant attachment. Three factors that are not related to the self-esteem of Patch members.

For associates, the higher the self-esteem they feel within the gang, the lower the agreeableness. Because this is a negative correlation, the opposite also proves true. The lower the self-esteem within the gang, the higher the agreeableness. For instance, an associate gang member who has higher self-esteem within the gang is less likely than an individual with low self-esteem, to just follow orders, and more likely to express their own opinions, and stand up for themselves, than those who are trying desperately to fit in and be accepted.

Those with lower levels of self-esteem within the gang, would feel less secure about their place in the gang, and would feel less assured about the gang's acceptance of them, because of esteem factors such as self-doubt and low self-worth. It is difficult for someone with low self-esteem to believe that the gang values them in any way, so they may feel that they have to prove their worth to the gang. As such, they are more likely to be pushed around, follow orders, agree with everyone higher in status, and keep their opinions to themselves, which would contribute to lower self-esteem.

When examining Associate members' self-esteem within the gang, and their agreeableness with others, it is evident that young Associate members are the same as any other adolescent or young adult. A social skill that most of us learn at a young age is, to be nice to people that we have just met. We learn to make polite conversation, avoid arguing with new friends, and to show our best side. In a word, we learn that to make a stranger into a new friend we must be fairly agreeable. If you met someone for the first time, and all they did was disagree with everything you said, tell you, you are

crazy for your beliefs, or to “shut-up” when you are speaking, that person would *not* become your friend.

However, once a person has developed friendships, and they have become confident that their friend’s enjoy their company and accept them, then they would have no anxiety about telling their friend’s that they are crazy, or to disagree with them. If one was to observe close friendships, one would discover that the stronger friendships are the one’s where people can tell each other anything, even things they know the other would not like to hear, and can “take the mickie” out of each other, knowing that their friendships will endure. This occurs because the individual become confident of the strength of their relationships. Therefore, it is not surprising that Associates who feel more self-esteem and confidence within the gang, are less agreeable.

For Associates there is also a relationship between self-esteem and attachment styles. Associates score higher on anxious attachment than Patch members, and this is one of the attachment styles that has been found to positively correlate with self-esteem. The higher the level of anxious attachment in close relationships, the higher the self-esteem within the gang. Characteristics of an anxious attachment style are a perceived reluctance of others to get close to them, a worry that others do not love them, and a desire to merge completely with others (Collins & Read, 1990).

Within the gang, familial and close attachments are formed strongly between each of the members. Even if the other members do not like a particular member very much, they will still support and watch over them. In a gang you are accepted unconditionally, therefore, self-esteem is higher than it would be in other relationships where love and acceptance are conditional on compatibility and attraction. Those who have developed an anxious attachment style feel more self-esteem in the gang, possibly because the gang setting is supportive and relationships are more secure.

When looking at the research on attachment styles, much is said about how these relationship styles are fairly constant across time, however, in different types of relationships, whether it be in a romantic partnership, family relationships, interactions with colleagues, or relationships with friends and gang members, different styles of attachment may form, depending on an individual's experiences in past relationships.

What may occur, and this is just a speculation, is that when an individual is anxiously attached, it is most likely because they have been hurt, or made to feel unworthy of love and affection in past relationships. Self-esteem is affected not only by what happens *to* us, but also by what is happening *inside* us. When this individual meets people for the first time, and begins to interact with a new group they will be weary of getting hurt, and therefore hold back a lot of themselves, until such time as a mutual trust is developed. So even though in future relationships, an anxious attachment style will already be in place, that does not necessarily mean, that the barriers that the individual has placed around themselves cannot be broken down.

For associate gang members, it may be easier for these barriers to be crossed because of the close knit gang environment. Though thought to be deviant by some, the gang environment is in reality a network of people who largely come from the same backgrounds, and as such are better equipped to fulfill the social and psychological needs that have not been met in the past. As such, Associate members are in a good position to develop secure attachments as they grow. Perhaps the Patch members who score high on secure attachment, developed the secure attachment style through affiliation with the gang, and the main difference between Patch and Associate members on types of attachment, is in effect, just the beginnings of a developmental course that will lead to the same objective. That is secure attachments.

For Associate gang members, high self-esteem in the gang is also related to avoidant attachment. If we relate that to early family relationships, we may determine

that the individual is avoiding his/her detrimental family environment which could lead him/her to find a more acceptable 'family' elsewhere. Self-esteem is an essential element in the development of one's identity. If self-esteem is not developed within one's family, the individual will strive to find a group to which they can identify, that will enhance their self-esteem through group identity (Santrock, 1995). For these individuals, the gang is a safer and more accepting environment, where they feel more self-esteem. A characteristic of an avoidant relationship style is not feeling comfortable in the relationships that one has. If a person does not feel comfortable, or feel like they can develop intimacy with family members, or others around them, then they will seek relationships that give them comfort elsewhere.

Human nature dictates that we must seek what we need. If what we need is money, we will seek employment, or career success in order to attain that. If what we need is to feel comfortable with others and experience intimacy, then we seek new relationships. Associate members may join gangs in order to fulfill these relationship needs. Once those needs are met in their new relationships with fellow gang members, then self-esteem is enhanced. If these needs were not being met by the gang, then they would not feel self-esteem within the gang, so the gang is essentially changing their relationship styles, and how they feel about themselves.

For Patch members, there are no significant correlation's between self-esteem, agreeableness, and anxious and avoidant attachment, instead, Patch members' self-esteem is influenced by a secure attachment style. This indicates that attachment styles are an important influence on gang members development of personality characteristics. As such, I believe it is important to discuss the interaction between attachment styles and personality more fully.

Attachment, the way one interacts with others, and their feelings about those interactions, may be a strong predictor of how individuals develop self-esteem and

conscientious work ethics later in life. Perhaps this relationship occurs because the people we “work” with effect how well we want to work, or how hard we try at whatever it is that we do. Gang members obviously respect and like one another, and when it comes to working gangs, individuals are much more likely to try hard when the people they would let down if they did not, were close friends.

People behave differently, and even feel differently around different groups of people. For example., someone who has difficulties interacting with family members may have a large supportive social group at school or elsewhere, and the way an individual interacts with family members and friends can be very different. Through conformity, people may adapt their personality, or certain personality characteristics, in order to better “fit” their social group. With self-esteem, individuals will spend the most amount of time with the group that makes them feel the best. The most loved and accepted.

One’s attachment style is crucial in the development of one’s personality, and one’s personality can direct the way in which we form relationships. This is because we see ourselves reflected in how others react to us. Personality characteristics effect our relationships in many ways. As an example., if an individual has a terrible temper, and is prone to emotional outbursts, the people around them will interact with them accordingly. If a person knows about someone’s temper they may avoid discussing certain topics with them, avoid taking them places where their temper has a free rein (football games, fights), or even avoid being with them all together. On the other hand, if a person is gregarious and fun to be with, then others will want to spend time with them. Our personality effects not just our relationships with others, but how others see us.

Our attachment styles could effect our personality in ways that make a person distrustful, secure about other people, and optimistic and happy about their life. If a

person has always had wonderful relationships with family members and friends, they will easily get on with others. With such histories of secure attachments, the individual will not hold back any part of themselves, and will happily talk to anyone and everyone. This well adapted past will help them to feel confident in their relationships with others, and also feel confident in their worth as a friend or brother.

An anxious or avoidant relationship style could cause someone to develop unlikeable personality characteristics that would not enhance the relationships they have with others. Neuroticism could cause someone to have an anxious attachment style, but an anxious attachment style could also cause someone to become neurotic. What has been found in this study is that, no matter which direction the interaction occurs, the interaction is strong.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AMERICAN AND NEW ZEALAND GANGS

Though most of the past research indicates that most gang members do very poorly at school, (Covey, et al., 1997) Gang members in this study were evenly distributed through Very poor, average and very good academically. These results suggest that unlike American gangs, prior academic performance may not be a risk factor for New Zealand gang members. No significant differences were found in academic performance between Patch and Associate members.

In line with theories of prior delinquency (Covey, et al., 1997), Nine out of the 14 participants agreed that they often got into trouble at school. This indicates that behavioural or attitudinal problems at school could be an identifying risk of later gang membership and delinquency. Quite a large difference was found between Patch and Associate gang members on this question. *All* Associate members agreed that they got into a lot of trouble at school, but less than half of the Patch members got into trouble at school.

One of the most robust findings in American gang literature, is the over-representation of ethnic minority members in gangs (Covey, et al., 1997; Yablonsky, 1997). This does not seem to be the case in New Zealand, quite the opposite in fact. However, these kind of statistics are difficult to determine, because participants are from a wide range of gangs, whereas, if one looked at ethnic gangs like Black Power, or the Mongrel Mob, numbers could show that there are more ethnic gangs than European gangs in New Zealand. It would be different for every study.

Researchers like Jacqueline Campbell, (1998) state that many delinquents and gang members come from single parent families or families with no fathers. Ancona (1999) firmly believed that fatherless families were the primary cause of delinquency and gang membership. Results from this study are inconsistent with these opinions and findings. Of the 14 participants, only four of them grew up without a father, and of those four, three of the fathers were deceased, rather than just absent. All of the members whose fathers were deceased, had foster fathers, step fathers or grandfathers who took part in their upbringing. Only one gang member grew up without any kind of father or father figure. This is significantly different from what one might expect, looking at the findings from Ancona, (1999), and Campbell, (1998).

Ten of the participants grew up with both biological parents present. This number indicates that for New Zealand gang members, single parent households are the extreme rather than the norm. Family structure is not a risk factor, but perhaps the relationships between the family members are important instead.

For the most part, the gang members parents were laborers, farm workers and factory workers, with no professional workers apparent at all. Ten of the mothers were housewives, and those who did work, had factory jobs, or helped their husbands as farm workers. One mother, however, had her own trucking business. The educational or career attainments of the parents, which is suggestive of socio-economic status, is

fairly low. Therefore, the low socio-economic status of New Zealand gang members is consistent with the results of American research that states that low socio-economic status is a predictor of delinquency and gang involvement (Scott, 1999)

Unlike American gang members who usually join in their late childhood and early adolescence, while they are still at school (Omizo, Omizo and Honda, 1997), New Zealand gang members do not join until after they have left school, at around the age of 17 and a half. This is true for both Patch and Associate gang members. Overseas research also indicates that many individuals have left the gang before they reach their twenties, this is not so in New Zealand. Unlike the American street gang, which is usually an adolescent gang, New Zealand gangs are mostly adult motorcycle gangs, so they are much older. Most gang members in New Zealand are in their 30's, but the age range can be anywhere from 16 to 54. These age differences may be an extremely important issue in the prevention and intervention of gangs, as Patch members are going to be more entrenched in the gang than their young Associate counterparts.

SIGNIFICANT RESULTS FOR ALL GANG MEMBERS ON THE NEO PERSONALITY MEASURE

Neuroticism and Conscientiousness showed the only significant differences between Patch and Associate gang members, however, a number of significant differences were found between gang members in general, and the general population. To examine New Zealand gang member's personality, the overall mean scores for each of the "Big Five" were analyzed by comparing the means to the normative population means on each factor. The normative mean scores for the general population were found from past analysis of the NEO Personality Inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1985).

The mean level of Openness for all gang members (both the Patch and Associate members, grouped) was calculated by finding the mean value of raw scores at

the 50% level. The mean was 31. Considerably lower than the normative mean value of 50, with a standard deviation of 10. This means that most peoples scores range between 40 and 60. The mean for gang members (31) indicates that gang members are much less open than most people. Characteristics of gang members who are not very open are, practicality, they avoid daydreaming, are less sensitive to beauty, experience a narrow range of emotions, and are dogmatic and conforming (Costa & McCrae, 1991).

The mean level of Conscientiousness for all gang members (both Patch and Associate members, grouped) was 36 (also calculated using mean values of raw scores at 50% level). Former tests of the NEO have found that the normative mean value (mean of raw scores at 50% level) was 50, with a standard deviation of 10, meaning that most people score between 40-60. The mean for gang members (36) indicates that gang members are less conscientious than most people. Gang members, on average, do not feel very competent in what they do, they do not work as hard or place much value on hard work, and they generally lack self-discipline and organization.

SIGNIFICANT RESULTS FOR ALL GANG MEMBERS ON THE ADULT ATTACHMENT SCALE

The raw data from Collins and Read's (1990) scale of Adult Attachment were grouped for each of the attachment styles. The means for each attachment style were found, and these means were compared to the normative means of the general population, as found through past analysis of this scale.

The only attachment style that was found to have significant differences for gang members, as compared to the general population, was anxious attachment. The normative mean for anxious attachment is 16.2 with a standard deviation of 5.1. This means that most people's scores range between 11.1 and 21.3. The mean for all gang members (both Patch and Associate) was 8.1, well below the normative range. This

result indicates that gang members are less anxious in adult relationships than most people. Gang members feel secure with each other, and within the gang. They do not feel abandoned or unloved by others. For many gang members the only relationships they have are within the gang. Perhaps relationships with others, outside of the gang are different.

OVERALL SELF-ESTEEM FOR ALL GANG MEMBERS

Perhaps one of the most surprising results of this study was the mean level of self-esteem for all gang members (both Patch and Associate). Through past analysis of Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem scale, the normative mean for self-esteem was found to be 29.4, with a standard deviation of 3.07. This means that most people scores range between 26.33 and 32.47. The mean level of self-esteem for gang members was 30.78, well within the normal range for self-esteem. This result is completely inconsistent with past research (Toch, 1972; Patton, 1998; and Porter & Tomaselli, 1989) that argues that self-esteem is one of the widely known predictors of delinquency and gang involvement.

For New Zealand gang members low self-esteem may not be a risk factor. The only possible reason for this incongruous finding is that the gang members self-esteem was tested in their present life, when many have been in the gang for quite some time. It is not new that gangs meet needs, so perhaps the gang increases their self-esteem considerably, however, before entering the gang, their self-esteem may have been very low. In order to better understand these results, future studies would have to test self-esteem before the individuals join the gang.

SIGNIFICANT FINDING FROM THE FES, FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

No significant differences were found between Patch and Associate gang members on the Family Environment Scale, however, differences were found between gang members and the normative population. Normative mean scores have been determined through past analysis of the Family Environment Scale, and the mean scores for gang members on each of the dimensions were compared to those normal means. The FES, developed by Moos and Moos, (1986) has ten subscales of family environment, and of those ten subscales gang members scored outside of the normative range on 5 of them.

The mean level of Cohesion for all gang members was 30.3. The normative mean for cohesion is 50 with a standard deviation of 10, which leaves gang members well below the norm for cohesion. The range for gang members went from as low as 1 to a high of 68. This result indicates a substantial lack of family support, commitment and help from the family's of gang members. This lack of family cohesion is representative of past research on gang membership and delinquency (Evans and Mason, 1996). Evans and Mason, (1996) found that a significant factor related to delinquency and gang involvement was low family cohesion and supervision, that was exacerbated by parental discord.

Perhaps due to low family cohesion, gang members in this study were not very expressive of their feelings, and did not act openly with family members. The mean for expressiveness for all gang members was 39.7, well below the normative mean of 50. Indicating that communication within the families of gang members are lacking and unsatisfactory. Meyer and Park, et al., (1998) state that one of the functions of the gang is being available to talk to other members, and to listen to their problems. Older members counsel and advise the younger members, and the gang encourages members

to express themselves. Perhaps this need, which is not being met by their families, is one of the attractions of the gang.

Conflict is perhaps one of the most robust environmental findings of, not only this research, but past research as well. The normative mean for conflict is 50, and the mean level of conflict for gang members is 61.07. This finding indicates a seriously high amount of openly expressed anger, aggression, and violence among the families of gang members. Hill, et al., (1999) and Loeber and Farrington, (1998) found that gang members reported frequent conflict among their parents, and pro-conflict attitudes. Loeber and Farrington (1998) also found that discipline within these families was severe and sometimes violent.

As can be seen from this study, one's family environment and the attachments one has with family members has a great impact on one's development, and can be a detrimental risk factor for gang involvement and delinquency. The influence of one's family dictates a growing need for teachers, guidance counselors and psychologists to be aware of the child's family environment and the relationships they have with family members. The information that one acquires about the clients family, is certainly more important than any other information that could be relevant. If one wants to try and predict whether or not a child is at risk for gang involvement, then one must examine, in depth, that child's family and upbringing.

Also of major importance to the understanding of risk factors in gang membership, are the attachments that the young men or women form with others. Results have found that for each of the 4 main factors that were found to be significant in the members background, i.e., Neuroticism, Conscientiousness, and Happiness and self-esteem in gang, all of these factors were influenced in some way by attachment. For Patch members, the attachments they formed with their gang, played a significant role in their personal well being, and proved stronger and more secure than their

attachments to their family, indicating that Patch members are not close to their families, and do not feel secure within them.

Associate members were not only influenced by their attachments to the gang, but also by the importance they placed on attachments with friends and team members. These attachments influence how well they work, how happy they feel, how anxious they feel, and how they feel about themselves. Obviously personality factors such as happiness and neuroticism play an important role in one's attachments, and influence the decisions that individual's make to join gangs.

What seems fairly obvious is that individual's join gangs in order to feel close to others. They seek out the attachments that they have been missing, in order to enhance their self-image, and fulfill strong emotional needs. The families of gang members are not supplying them with the psychological needs that help adolescents find their own personal identity, and feel good in that identity. Rather, the unsatisfying attachments that they have with their families cause them a sense of identity elsewhere. In the gang, the individual gains fulfillment of identity needs through feelings of belongingness and importance that come from being a part of something bigger than themselves. Alone, they may feel that they are nobody, but in the gang, they are somebody.

Though this study has identified many personality factors and attachment factors that help to better understand what motivates people to join gangs, identifiable risk factors are not so clear. We know from this that gang members had certain personal and emotional needs that they needed to have met, through gang membership, it is not as easy to identify an adolescent who feels insecure and anxious. Many of the men from this study have spent their lives hiding behind a tough, macho exterior, often hiding how they really feel. Their insecurities, or feelings of being unloved or unsafe, are expressed through aggression, drug taking, or delinquency. For many, they may not even realize what is really behind their choice to join a gang.

During the course of this study, I not only got to meet many gang members, but the gang members that I did meet shared their personal thoughts on their motivations behind joining the gang. For many, what they *thought* lead them to join the gang, and what *really* motivated them to join were two very different perceptions. By filling in the questionnaire, many of the participants were able to gain insight into their own lives. Occasionally, we as human beings, do not really know what drives us to do the things we do. However, through answering personal questions, that the participants had never asked themselves before, they were able to, not only give me insight, but to teach themselves a thing or two. One participant, who has been a gang member for many years, found himself reevaluating his life, and realized that he had some very deep issues with his family that he needed to sort out, issues that he was unaware of until he began to honestly answer some very tough questions. The fact that gang members themselves may not know specifically what led them to join a gang, means that it would be difficult for others to figure out.

However, what we do know, is that Patch members do not do well academically, and have often joined the gang in order to succeed financially. They often do not have the schooling or skills to achieve success in the larger society, so join in order to follow their only avenue to success. Patch members come from families that are high in control, and conflict, and low in cohesion and expressiveness. They feel happy and securely attached to the gang, indicating a lack of happiness and secure attachment to their family, and find fulfillment of esteem needs within the gang.

Associate members join largely for the camaraderie, and friendships. They may be lonely individuals who have a desperate need to connect to others. They are insecure and feel alienated not just from their families, but from society in general. Associate members often get into trouble at school, and show signs of conduct or behavioural problems while still at school. Associate members are quite neurotic and have a very low self-image. They need others to make themselves feel better. These

insecurities may come from their tendency to grow up in households where conflict is extremely high. Associate members are more likely to have an escapist like personality, in that they will try to avoid conflict and distress as much as possible.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Plans for interventions or preventative programs, based on the findings of the present study need to be viewed with caution due to the methodological limitations. However, based on personal observations, coupled with the results of this study, I have gained an understanding of what would not work for New Zealand gang members.

In the case of both Patch and Associate gang members, their attachments to their families and the gang, is of vital importance. Once the attachments have been formed with their fellow gang members, it may be almost impossible for a social worker or psychologist to break those strong ties. Once the positive attachments have been formed, it may also be detrimental for the psychological well-being of the member, to destroy their only positive attachments with others. Instead, one must try to prevent the youths from turning towards gang membership for the attachments that they need, but rather, may an attempt to steer the at risk youth towards forming attachments with positive role models, and more socially acceptable groups.

By focusing on the attachments that one makes with others, and the emotional needs like esteem and feelings of security that the gang provides (Omizo, Omizo and Honda, 1997), programs that would cater to these needs in a more socially acceptable environment could be developed. Unfortunately, as this study has a lack of participants, the research is statistically weak. However, from examining what I have discovered, future avenues of study could be identified, in order to further develop the literature and information about gangs in New Zealand. A significant issue that I believe is vital in future research is the examination of self-esteem, before the youths

join the gang, as well as using non-member comparative control groups to enhance understanding.

Future research needs to focus on longitudinal studies that observe the behaviour, personality and the relationships and friendships that youths form with others, to get a more clear idea of the different elements that may motivate a person to join a gang. This study has only touched on some of the issues that need to be addressed, however, this information may allow future researchers to pin point areas that need to be examined more thoroughly.

The information that has been gleaned from this study suggest that researchers should not make the mistake of grouping all gang members. Psychologists cannot presume that interventions that work well with associate gang members, will work well with Patch members. That there are differences between the two, is the most robust finding of this study. That is not to say that interventions and prevention programs could not be developed that take these differences into account, and are made to work for all gang members.

An issue that has not been examined in this study, but one that I believe through my own observations to be true, is the collectivity of gang members, and the difficulties gaining their trust in a therapeutic setting. It has long been proven that gaining a clients trust is of vital importance to the success of the psychotherapeutic relationship (Kearney, 1998), and it is also known that gang members are not the most trusting group of people around. For many gang members issues such as their criminal involvement and knowledge of illegal dealings make them feel vulnerable to prosecution.

Gang members would feel weary about discussing certain aspects of their gang lives, for fear that the information could be used against them in future court

proceedings. There could also be a danger in disclosing information that would ethically obligate the therapist to “warn and protect” in cases where they may be told of someone who is in danger from the gang. If a therapist learns that someone is under threat from harm it is their moral obligation to report that information to the authorities, however in the case of possible gang retaliation, disclosing that kind of information could in effect put the client in incredible risk. The client would be in danger from their own gang, as well as the intended victim, making ethical decisions difficult and dangerous for all involved.

Also of importance is involving a number of gang members in the therapeutic proceedings, rather than dealing with them one on one. Yablonsky (1997) reviewed a number of well known and acknowledged intervention programs that were operating in the United States, and found that many of them did not work, or results were minimal and ineffective. However, Yablonsky (1997) discovered that the best intervention program was the TC Therapeutic Community program that involved working with groups of gang members.

Yablonsky found that older gang members, and members who had left the gang were able to do more towards modifying clients core beliefs about the gang than anyone else possibly could. The TC program is rather confronting and a core element of the sessions involves the clients being confronted by peers, ex members and therapists about their attitudes and beliefs about the gang. The TC becomes a positive gang, in the sense that the participants confront each other, but also support each other through the process.

The TC forces each of the members to examine their lifestyle retrospectively and introspectively, and gives them an avenue where they can express their rage through verbal discussion rather than violence (Yablonsky, 1997). Through this kind of therapeutic process the client is able to gain a better insight into the socialization process

that led them to gang membership, than they would if they were working one on one with a therapist who is not familiar with the gang lifestyle, or issues of gang membership.

An important aspect of TC is the necessity of separating core Patch members and Associate gang members into different types of TC's (Yablonsky, 1997). Associate members are more responsive to treatment in community based TC's than Patch members. The more ingrained Patch members are less open to treatment, and are often unwilling to leave, due to the rewards that they receive in entrepreneurial gangs. Because of this, Patch members are best approached through the prison system, where prison based TC's have more control over their behaviour and have more time to work with them. Often it is necessary with Patch members, to use the power of the law to force them to take part in a treatment program. Therefore, for TC's to work, Patch and Associate gang members can not be put together.

Because of the difficulty in recruiting participants, future studies would benefit from using the prison system to gather participants. Gang members in prison are more likely to agree to participate in an academic study than members who are actively involved in the gang life. Also gang members in prison are often happy to do something different that takes them away from their boredom and the sameness of prison life.

Future studies would benefit the most by using a matched control sample. By comparing gang members with non-gang members who are of the same age, gender and educational background, risk factors associated with gang membership would be more clear cut and visible. Without a control group, comparisons can not be made, and identifiable traits and behaviours are not distinguishable. In future, more in-depth, and longitudinal analysis must be made in order to really discover what leads a person to join a gang, and what, if anything, can disrupt the adolescents path.

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THE LOCATION OF GANGS IN NEW ZEALAND

Map of New Zealand showing the locations of various criminal gangs. The map is divided into regions by horizontal lines. Gangs are listed in boxes connected to specific locations on the map.

Locations and associated gangs:

- North Island:**
 - Whangarei: Cripps & Bloodz
 - Auckland: Skinheads, Streetkids
 - Manukau: Mongrel Mob
 - Western Bay of Plenty: Mongrel Mob
 - Hamilton: Highway 61, Homies
 - Rotorua: Highway 61
 - Taupo: Highway 61
 - Gisborne: Mongrel Mob, Black Power Outlaws
 - Napier: Street kids, Nomads
 - South Taranaki: Highway 61
 - Wanganui: Highway 61
 - Manawatu: Highway 61
 - Kapiti: Highway 61
 - Carterton: Highway 61
 - Hutt City: Highway 61
 - Wellington: Highway 61
- South Island:**
 - Marlborough: Devil's Henchmen
 - Nelson: Devil's Henchmen
 - Hurunui: Road Knights
 - Christchurch: Road Knights
 - Timaru: Road Knights, Mongrel Mob, Road Knights, Southern Vikings
 - Dunedin: Mongrel Mob, Black Power, Devil's Henchmen, Road Knights, Epitaph Riders
 - Invercargill: Mongrel Mob, Black Power, Devil's Henchmen, Road Knights, Skinheads

INFORMATION ABOUT GANG RESEARCH PROJECT

For many years, research has been carried out on gangs, and the people who join them. Most of this research has been done overseas, leaving New Zealand behind in its knowledge of gangs, and gang members.

This research is being carried out in order to help psychologists, present and future, to understand better this area of group behaviour. The research is being done by Lee-Anne Johnston, from the Psychology Department at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand. Lee-Anne already holds a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology, and is doing this research as part of her Masters Thesis.

If you agree to take part in this research, Lee-Anne will provide you with a detailed questionnaire, that will probably take 30-45 minutes to complete although you need not complete the questionnaire all at once. You will be asked to fill in the questionnaire as accurately and as honestly as you can. The questionnaire has questions covering your family upbringing, personality, schooling, and self-esteem. Each question involves answering a statement using several options, whereby you choose the option that most describes your answer.

All of the information that you give on the questionnaire will be safeguarded very carefully so that no one other than Lee-Anne will have access to the information you give. You will be asked not to include your name on the questionnaire, or any other identifying information. This is to ensure that your privacy is well guarded, and that none of the information that you give can be linked to you. Once the research has been completed, all of the information that you give will be destroyed; again to ensure your anonymity.

Participating in this research will not cause you any harm. Perhaps taking part will even be a rewarding and interesting experience for you. It is often enjoyable sharing a part of your life and experiences.

Taking part in this research is purely voluntary. If at any time during the study you change your mind and decide not to take part, you can withdraw immediately. If you decide to withdraw, all the information and data collected from you will be destroyed at once. You will then have no involvement in the research whatsoever. Withdrawal can occur at any time in the process.

Lee-Anne will be collecting questionnaires from a number of gang members, as part of the research. When the research is completed it will be written up into various reports, and these reports may, or may not be published in professional journals. If the data are published, the information will be presented as a group, not by individual participants, so that it will be impossible to identify if you participated in the research or not.

If you want, you can request an outline of the findings from this research, when it is completed. For this I will need a name and address in which to send the outline. Any name and address that you provide for this purpose will be kept separate from your data. Lee-Anne will endeavour to send you a copy of the findings as soon as possible after the research is finished.

CHILDHOOD INFLUENCES ON ADULT GANG INVOLVEMENT

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT: For many years, research has been carried out on gangs, and the people who join them. Most of this research has been done overseas, leaving New Zealand behind in its knowledge of gangs, and gang members. This study is concerned with identifying the factors from your childhood that might have influenced your decision to join a gang as an adult.

Specifically, you will be given a questionnaire that will ask you about what kind of person you think you are, what type of family relationships you had as a child, your educational experiences, and your feelings about your gang membership. Lastly, we also ask that you fill out a background information sheet that will give us some information necessary to interpret your answers.

The aim of this study is to identify the manner in which individuals' personal characteristics are associated with their decision to join a gang. It is hoped that this information may be used to identify some possible ways to help individuals make a more rational decision regarding gang membership.

RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS PROJECT: NONE ARE FORESEEN

TIME REQUIRED: Approximately 30-60 minutes

The project is being conducted by Lee-Anne Johnston and Mark Byrd who may be reached by telephoning 366-7001, ext. 7194.

This project has been reviewed by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee

CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in the project described above, on the understanding that at any time I wish to withdraw from the study I may, without prejudice, do so. I further understand that if I withdraw I have the right to have any data collected from me returned. All information collected will be kept confidential and will be destroyed at the end of the study. I understand that any information gathered from this study will be reported only in terms of group averages and that my name will not be associated with any particular piece of data. Lastly, I understand that I will be given the opportunity to review my decision after I have completed my participation in this study and discussed the details of the study with the researcher.

**YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO SIGN THIS FORM USING A FALSE NAME,
IF YOU WISH TO DO SO.**

You are entitled to have a copy of this form if you wish.

NAME: _____

SIGNATURE: _____ DATE: _____

Childhood influences on adult gang involvement

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled "Childhood influences on adult gang involvement" by completing the following questionnaire. The aim of the project is to assess your personality and your background to determine how these factors relate to your decision to join a gang.

The questionnaire is anonymous, and you will not be identified as a participant without your consent. You may at any time withdraw your participation and have any information you have provided returned to you. By completing this questionnaire, however, it will be understood that you have consented to participate in the project, and that you consent to publication of the results as long as the data are reported only in terms of group averages and that your name will not be associated with any particular piece of data. You will be given the opportunity to review this decision after you have completed the survey and the rationale of the study has been explained fully to you.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Date of Birth: _____

What are or were the occupations of your primary caregivers during your childhood? No need to be specific - Just the general area is fine (If caregivers are retired, from what occupation are they retired)

What relation was your primary male caregiver to you?
Father/Uncle/Grandfather/Other/Male Caregiver was absent

PRIMARY MALE CAREGIVER'S OCCUPATION

What relation was your primary female caregiver to you?
Mother/Aunt/Grandmother/Other/Female Caregiver was absent

PRIMARY FEMALE CAREGIVER'S OCCUPATION

QUESTIONNAIRE

This section of the questionnaire will ask you some questions about what type of person you are. Please read each statement carefully and indicate your agreement or disagreement with it by circling the appropriate response. Do not deliberate too long on any one statement. First impressions are best.

I am not a worrier.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I like to have a lot of people around me.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I don't like to waste my time daydreaming.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I try to be pleasant to everyone I meet.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I often feel inferior to others.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I laugh easily.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I often get into arguments with my family and CO-workers.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

When I'm under a great deal of stress, sometimes I feel like I'm going to pieces.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I don't consider myself especially 'light-hearted'.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Some people think I'm selfish and egotistical.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I rarely feel lonely or blue.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I really enjoy talking to people.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I believe letting people hear controversial speakers can only confuse and mislead them.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I would rather cooperate with others than compete with them.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I believe we should look to our religious authorities for decisions on moral issues.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Some people think of me as cold and calculating.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

When I make a commitment, I can always be counted on to follow through.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Too often, when things go wrong, I get discouraged and feel like giving up.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I am not a cheerful optimist.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I'm hard-headed and tough-minded in my attitudes.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Sometimes I'm not as dependable or reliable as I should be.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I am seldom sad or depressed.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

My life is fast-paced.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I generally try to be thoughtful and considerate.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I am a productive person who always gets the job done.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I often feel helpless and want someone else to solve my problems.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I am a very active person.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I have a lot of intellectual curiosity.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

If I don't like people, I let them know it.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I never seem to be able to get organized.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

At times I have been so ashamed I just want to hide.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I would rather go my own way than be a leader of others.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

If necessary, I am willing to manipulate people to get what I want.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I strive for excellence in everything I do.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Listed below are a number of statements concerning the relationship you have with others.
Please read each statement and indicate your level of agreement or disagreement by circling
the appropriate response.

I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on others.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

People are never there when you need them.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

A am comfortable depending on others.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I know that others will be there when I need them.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I find it difficult to trust others completely.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I do not often worry about being abandoned by others.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I often worry that my partner does not really love me.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I find others are reluctant to get as close as I would like.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I often worry that my partner will not want to stay with me.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I find it relatively easy to get close to others.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I do not often worry about someone getting to close to me.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I am nervous when anyone gets too close.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I am comfortable having others depend on me.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Often, my partner wants me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.
Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

This section of the questionnaire examines your relationship with family members, and the kind of family environment you were raised in. Listed below are a number of statements about families. Please tick each statement that is true about your family, and leave blank the statements that are false. Note only true or false answers are acceptable - there's no in-between). If you no longer live with your family, answer the questions according to when you were living at home. (Don't deliberate too long on any one statement. First impressions are best.

FAMILY MEMBERS REALLY HELP AND SUPPORT ONE ANOTHER.

FAMILY MEMBERS OFTEN KEEP THEIR FEELINGS TO THEMSELVES.

WE FIGHT A LOT IN OUR FAMILY.

WE DON'T DO THINGS ON OUR OWN VERY OFTEN IN OUR FAMILY.

WE FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT TO BE THE BEST AT WHATEVER YOU DO.

WE OFTEN TALK ABOUT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

WE SPEND MOST WEEKENDS AND EVENINGS AT HOME.

FAMILY MEMBERS ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES FAIRLY OFTEN.

ACTIVITIES IN OUR FAMILY ARE PRETTY CAREFULLY PLANNED.

FAMILY MEMBERS ARE RARELY ORDERED AROUND.

WE OFTEN SEEM TO BE KILLING TIME AT HOME.

WE SAY ANYTHING WE WANT TO AROUND THE HOME.

FAMILY MEMBERS RARELY BECOME OPENLY ANGRY.

IN OUR FAMILY, WE ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO BE INDEPENDENT.

GETTING AHEAD IN LIFE IS VERY IMPORTANT IN OUR FAMILY.

WE RARELY GO TO LECTURES, PLAYS OR CONCERTS.

FRIENDS OFTEN COME OVER FOR DINNER OR TO VISIT.

WE DON'T SAY PRAYERS IN OUR FAMILY.

WE ARE GENERALLY VERY NEAT AND ORDERLY.

THERE ARE VERY FEW RULES TO FOLLOW IN OUR FAMILY.

WE PUT A LOT OF ENERGY INTO WHAT WE DO AT HOME.

IT'S HARD TO 'BLOW OFF STEAM' AT HOME WITHOUT UPSETTING SOMEBODY.

FAMILY MEMBERS SOMETIMES GET SO ANGRY THEY THROW THINGS.

WE THINK THINGS OUT FOR OURSELVES IN OUR FAMILY.

HOW MUCH MONEY A PERSON MAKES IS NOT VERY IMPORTANT TO US.

LEARNING ABOUT NEW AND DIFFERENT THINGS IS VERY IMPORTANT IN OUR FAMILY.

NOBODY IN OUR FAMILY IS ACTIVE IN SPORTS.

WE OFTEN TALK ABOUT THE RELIGIOUS MEANING OF CHRISTMAS, PASSOVER, OR
OTHER HOLIDAYS.

IT'S OFTEN HARD TO FIND THINGS WHEN YOU NEED THEM IN OUR HOUSEHOLD.

THERE IS ONE FAMILY MEMBER WHO MAKES MOST OF THE DECISIONS.

THERE IS A FEELING OF TOGETHERNESS IN OUR FAMILY.

WE TELL EACH OTHER ABOUT OUR PERSONAL PROBLEMS.

FAMILY MEMBERS HARDLY EVER LOSE THEIR TEMPER.

WE COME AND GO AS WE WANT TO IN OUR FAMILY.

WE BELIEVE IN COMPETITION AND 'MAY THE BETTER PERSON WIN'.

WE ARE NOT THAT INTERESTED IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES.

WE OFTEN GO TO MOVIES, SPORTS EVENTS, TRAMPING, ETC.

WE DON'T BELIEVE IN HEAVEN OR HELL.

BEING ON TIME IS VERY IMPORTANT IN OUR FAMILY.

THERE ARE SET WAYS OF DOING THINGS AT HOME.

WE RARELY VOLUNTEER WHEN SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE AT HOME.

**IF WE FEEL LIKE DOING SOMETHING ON THE SPUR OF THE MOMENT, WE OFTEN JUST
PICK UP AND GO.**

FAMILY MEMBERS OFTEN CRITICIZE EACH OTHER.

THERE IS VERY LITTLE PRIVACY IN OUR FAMILY.

WE ALWAYS STRIVE TO DO THINGS JUST A LITTLE BETTER THE NEXT TIME.

WE RARELY HAVE INTELLECTUAL DISCUSSIONS.

EVERYONE IN OUR FAMILY HAS A HOBBY OR TWO.

FAMILY MEMBERS HAVE STRICT IDEAS ABOUT WHAT IS RIGHT AND WRONG.

PEOPLE CHANGE THEIR MINDS OFTEN IN OUR FAMILY.

THERE IS A STRONG EMPHASIS ON FOLLOWING RULES IN OUR FAMILY.

FAMILY MEMBERS REALLY BACK EACH OTHER UP.

SOMEONE USUALLY GETS UPSET IF YOU COMPLAIN IN OUR FAMILY.

FAMILY MEMBERS SOMETIMES HIT EACH OTHER.

**FAMILY MEMBERS ALMOST ALWAYS RELY ON THEMSELVES WHEN A PROBLEM
COMES UP.**

FAMILY MEMBERS RARELY WORRY ABOUT JOB PROMOTIONS, SCHOOL GRADES, ETC.

SOMEONE IN OUR FAMILY PLAYS A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT.

**FAMILY MEMBERS ARE NOT VERY INVOLVED IN RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE
WORK OR SCHOOL.**

WE BELIEVE THERE ARE JUST SOME THINGS YOU HAVE TO TAKE ON FAITH.

FAMILY MEMBERS MAKE SURE THEIR ROOMS ARE NEAT.

EVERYONE HAS AN EQUAL SAY IN FAMILY DECISIONS.

THERE IS VERY LITTLE GROUP SPIRIT IN OUR FAMILY.

MONEY AND PAYING BILLS IS OPENLY TALKED ABOUT IN OUR FAMILY.

**IF THERE'S A DISAGREEMENT IN OUR FAMILY, WE TRY HARD TO SMOOTH THINGS
OVER AND KEEP THE PEACE.**

FAMILY MEMBERS STRONGLY ENCOURAGE EACH OTHER TO STAND UP FOR THEIR RIGHTS.

IN OUR FAMILY, WE DON'T TRY THAT HARD TO SUCCEED.

FAMILY MEMBERS OFTEN GO TO THE LIBRARY.

FAMILY MEMBERS SOMETIMES ATTEND COURSES OR TAKE LESSONS FOR SOME HOBBY OR INTEREST (OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL).

IN OUR FAMILY, EACH PERSON HAS DIFFERENT IDEAS ABOUT WHAT IS RIGHT AND WRONG.

EACH PERSON'S DUTIES ARE CLEARLY DEFINED IN OUR FAMILY.

WE CAN DO WHATEVER WE WANT TO IN OUR FAMILY.

WE REALLY GET ALONG WELL WITH EACH OTHER.

WE ARE USUALLY CAREFUL ABOUT WHAT WE SAY TO EACH OTHER.

FAMILY MEMBERS OFTEN TRY TO ONE-UP OR OUT-DO EACH OTHER.

IT'S HARD TO BE YOURSELF WITHOUT HURTING SOMEONE'S FEELINGS IN OUR HOUSEHOLD.

WORK BEFORE PLAY' IS THE RULE IN OUR FAMILY.

WATCHING TV IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN READING IN OUR FAMILY.

FAMILY MEMBERS GO OUT A LOT.

THE BIBLE, TORAH, OR KORAN IS A VERY IMPORTANT BOOK IN OUR HOME.

MONEY IS NOT HANDLED VERY CAREFULLY IN OUR FAMILY.

RULES ARE PRETTY INFLEXIBLE IN OUR HOUSEHOLD.

THERE IS PLENTY OF TIME AND ATTENTION FOR EVERYONE IN OUR FAMILY.

THERE ARE A LOT OF SPONTANEOUS DISCUSSIONS IN OUR FAMILY.

IN OUR FAMILY, WE BELIEVE YOU DON'T GET ANYWHERE BY RAISING YOUR VOICE.

WE ARE NOT REALLY ENCOURAGED TO SPEAK UP FOR OURSELVES IN OUR FAMILY.

FAMILY MEMBERS ARE OFTEN COMPARED WITH OTHERS AS TO HOW WELL THEY ARE DOING AT WORK OR SCHOOL.

FAMILY MEMBERS REALLY LIKE MUSIC, ART, AND LITERATURE.

OUR MAIN FORM OF ENTERTAINMENT IS WATCHING TV OR LISTENING TO THE RADIO.

FAMILY MEMBERS BELIEVE THAT IF YOU SIN YOU WILL BE PUNISHED.

DISHES ARE USUALLY DONE IMMEDIATELY AFTER EATING.

YOU CAN'T GET AWAY WITH MUCH IN OUR FAMILY.

I WAS A WELL BEHAVED CHILD WHO RARELY GOT INTO TROUBLE.

This section of the questionnaire explores how you feel about yourself. There are ten questions in all that can be answered using a four point scale. Please circle the answer that most accurately describes how you feel about each item.

I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

I am able to do things as well as most other people.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

I wish I could have more respect for myself.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

I certainly feel useless at times.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

At times I think I am no good at all.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

This section of the questionnaire looks at not only your academic achievements but also how well you related to others at school. Read each question carefully, and circle the response that describes you best.

How well did you do at school academically (overall).

Very Good Good Average Poor Very Poor

I had a lot of friends at school.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

I had a best friend when I was at school.

Disagree Agree

I feel that I fit in quite well at school, and I was accepted by most students.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

At school, there were teachers or guidance counselors that I felt I could talk to about any problems.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

I often got into trouble at school.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

At school I would have been described as..

Cool A geek An outsider A freak An average kid

I often let my friends pressure me into doing things I didn't really want to do.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

My parent/s guardian/s encouraged me to study hard and to do all my homework.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I was involved in sports and clubs while I was at school.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

I was given responsibilities at school, e.g., Crossing guard, cleaning blackboard, looking after class pets and so forth.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Circle the highest level of qualifications that you have obtained (if none, leave blank).

School Cert 6th form Cert Bursary Polytech Diploma University Degree

How old were you when you left school?

13 14 15 16 17 18 other _____

I was still at school when I became interested in joining a gang.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

This section covers a few questions that do not necessarily fit into other categories. Note that though these questions are of a more personal nature, you will not be able to be identified through these questions. Please circle your answer.

Which ethnicity are you?

Pakeha Māori Pacific Islander Asian Other

My parent/s guardian/s instilled in me a sense of pride in my cultural heritage.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I was taught my cultures language, customs, and traditions growing up.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

How many siblings do you have?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 More

If you have siblings, have any of them been involved in a gang at some point? (only answer this question if you have siblings)

Yes No

If so, how many siblings have been involved? (only answer this question if you have siblings)

1 2 3 4 5 6 More

Did you have a role model (someone you admired) when growing up?

Yes No

If you had a role model, would you class that person as a positive or negative influence?

Very Negative Negative Neutral Positive Very Positive

DETAILS OF GANG MEMBERSHIP

This section of the questionnaire asks you about your personal details as well as some of your feelings regarding your gang membership. Read each question carefully, and circle the response that describes you best.

How old were you when you joined the gang? _____

How many years have you been a gang member? _____

How many hours per week do you spend with the gang? _____

Are you a 'Patch Member' or an 'Associate' _____

I'm happy being a gang member.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

If I had to do it over again, I would never have joined a gang.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I would encourage other individuals to join a gang.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Being a gang member provides me with a sense of safety and security.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I get a lot of self-esteem from being a gang member.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

I feel closer and more attached to my mates in the gang than I do with family members.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY

Thank you for taking time to fill out the survey. Without the co-operation of individuals such as yourself, scientific research would be impossible.

As mentioned in the consent form, this study was concerned with identifying the relationship between one's personality characteristics, one's background, and the decision to become a member of a gang.

The section of the questionnaire that asked you your opinions and attitudes about yourself permitted a general identification of the state of your personality development (or what type of person you think you are). The questionnaire also asked you about your educational background and about your relationship with your family.

These questions allowed a determination of which was more important in your decision to join a gang – the type of person you are or the type of background you had as a child. Further, these data will then be compared with the information you provided about your feelings about belonging to a gang. Again, the idea is to determine which makes you feel better about belonging to a gang – the type of person you think you are or the type of background you had as a child.

Taken together, it is hoped that an analysis of the results of this study will allow for a determination of the factors most important behind your decision to join a gang. In this way, it may also be possible to identify those factors that may be used to influence individuals to pursue activities other than gang membership.

Thank you very much for taking the time to fill in this questionnaire. Your involvement in this study is very much appreciated. By sharing your views and experiences, you have allowed the academic community to gain a better, and possibly more positive insight into a "gang member". This information will no doubt be invaluable to those studying this particular area of developmental psychology.

If you have any questions about this survey or you would like further information about it, please do not hesitate to telephone Lee-Anne Johnston or Mark Byrd at 366-7001, extension 7194.

Remember, at this point you have a right to review your decision to participate in the study and, if you choose, withdraw from the study. If you wish, you may ask to have all data collected from you returned.

AGAIN, THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP WITH THIS STUDY